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ABSTRACT

This collection of documents examines the response of the Jewish people--primarily in Russia but also in the West--to the sociological and political crises of Tsarist Russia between the years 1800 and 1914. It emphasizes in particular the emergence and interaction of the two ideologies which formulated the most radical solutions to the Jewish question--nationalism and socialism--and the various forms of interaction and mutual influence between them. Through the use of contemporary documents it examines the new ways of looking at the Jewish dilemma which suddenly appeared in the years 1881-82, the growth of the Bundist movement in the years 1892-1904, and the Jewish response to the first Russian revolution (1904-1907). Included in the collection are diaries, correspondence, articles, conference proceedings, and speeches which have been edited and translated in order to give students the opportunity to become involved with documentary materials related to the emergence of the modern Jew. (Author/MK)

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Crisis and Response: The Emergence of Modern Jewish Politics in Russia

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Crisis and Response: The Emergence of Modern Jewish Politics in Russia 1881-1907

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In the years 1881-1914 the Jewish people in the Tsarist Empire lived through a period of extraordinary flux. It became the object of rapid sociological change and the subject of major political innovations. On the sociological level, a population explosion combined with limited economic growth in the traditional areas of Jewish concentration (Lithuania, White Russia, the North-West Ukraine, Congress Poland) to produce constant flows of migration — in part to Southern Russia (Odessa, Ekaterinoslav, etc.) but mainly overseas. From a population of close to six million, some two million emigrated in this period - forming, or multiplying many times over, the Jewish communities in North and South America, Great Britain, South Africa and Palestine. However, so high was the rate of population growth, that the number of Jews in Russia itself continued to rise despite the emigration. This chronic socio-economic problem was punctuated — and accentuated — by periodic political crises — in particular, during the years of pogrom and reaction (1881-82) and the years of pogrom and revolution (1905-1906).

This collection of documents examines the response of the Jewish people -- primarily in Russia but also in the West — to this many-layered crisis. It emphasizes in particular the emergence and interaction of the two ideologies which formulated the most radical solutions to the Jewish question — nationalism and socialism -- and the various forms of interaction and mutual influence between them. Through the use of contemporary documents it examines the new ways of looking at the Jewish dilemma which suddenly appeared in the years 1881-82; the growth of the Bundist movement in the years 1892-1904; and, finally, the Jewish response to the first Russian revolution (1905-1907). The reader will learn how within the space of twenty-five years, Jewish politics in Russia had been radically transformed by the development of secular political movements and parties, of self-defense and pioneer organizations. The intelligentsia, the student youth and working masses had become a new factor in Jewish life which balanced and increasingly outweighed the traditional authority of wealth and rabbinical power. (At the same time, the reader will also gain a glimpse of how the prolonged Jewish crisis in Russia called forth various responses from Western Jewry -- the Barons Rothschild and Hirsch, the Mansion House Fund, HIAS, and, finally, the AJC.

In developing a course on the emergence of the modern Jew, I began to search for materials which I could place in the hands of my students. While there are good textbooks, in the nature of things text books give the student a rather sanitized version of history. I began to search out original documentary material and found few documents and documentary collections which would be accessible to students. Part of the problem is linguistic. One of the impacts of modernity was that Jews began to write in many different languages. No student can be reasonably expected to be able to read Hebrew, Russian, Yiddish, French, German; certainly not an undergraduate and likely not even most graduate students. Yet the documents exist in these languages and,in the main, they are untranslated and unedited. I, thus, began to collect documents working with a colleague at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and we began the job of translating and editing the materials. We chose a relatively brief period (1800-1914), for it was in this period that the major political and social movements which shaped modern Jewish consciousness took form.

These documents have been used experimentally in my classroom and I have arranged for their use by some of my colleagues. When the collection is complete we shall publish the collection so that others might exploit them as well.

Paul Ritterband

INTRODUCTION

The extracts from the diary of a Palestinian emigrant, appeared in Voskhod (Exodus) in January-February of 1889. The article is written by Dr. Khisin, a member of the BILU movement. The name is an acronym for Beit Yaakov Lechu V'Nelcha (House of Israel Let us rise up and go...). The article again reveals the shock caused by the pogroms upon a Jewish intelligentsia that was fully prepared to assimilate and consider itself Russian except that Russian society would not permit them to do so.

FROM THE DIARY OF A PALESTINE EMIGRANT

for the press

In putting together/extracts from a diary kept by me prior and subsequent to my arrival five years ago in the Holy Land, I have attempted as much as possible to avoid any bias. The Palestine question in recent years has played such an important role in the spiritual life of our people that in my opinion the account on the life of the emigrants and on the circumstances which they had to take into consideration should be of interest for every Jew. I remind the reader that he should not expect a complete survey of the Palestine affair and he should remember that he has before him only wet fresh material and short abstracts from the notes.

Moscow Feb. 10, 1882

The Jews have lived through a difficult time. The news of the new pogroms not only have not aroused indignation in anybody, but they have egged them on still further. The events of the last period did not permit a stagnant relation to ones self and have unceremoniously awakened the complacent Jews from a sweet hypnotic stupor. Until these times, I had no concern about my ancestry. I felt myself a devoted son of Russia -- which I lived and breathed. Every discovery of a Russian scientist, every prominent Russian literary work, every success of Russia as a power -- filled my hear twith pride and I intended to dedicate my strength to the service of patriotic interests and to hnorably fulfill all the obligations of a good citizen. And suddenly they show us the door. They openly announced that the western border is open to us. A sharp merciless question began to pursue me: "Who areyou?" — "I am just like this " — I tried to evade the question. Must I be somebody without fail?

But I could not spparate myself from this question. I felt myself obliged to decide it. "Of course, I am Russian". I answered m yself. and I felt that I was insincere. On what did I base this answer? Wasn't only on my own sympathies and thoughts ? But look, you mindless one, do you not see that for all yourwarm love they answer with the most hateful and chilled contempt? They shun us everywhere. They drive us out from ~~any~~ everywhere. They recognize us not as members of a state family but as a strange alien element. No, I am first of all, like it or not, a Jew. But is it only persecution that ties me to my nationality? We had a great past. We served as the hotbed of morality. Nevertheless, what are our present tasks and aspirations? No, Judaism would not satisfy me. What could it give me aside from emmories? With what can I fill my existence? I shuddered when I imagined the life which awaited me, filled with repressed moral suffering, burning melancholy, deep resentment, outrage and inactivity. A terrible life has befallen all sensitive Jews. O my G-d, why were we refused the sympathy and love of our neighbors?

ch 2,1882 Among one part of our society there has arisen a powerful movement in support of colonizing Palestine. I reflected for a long time on this question adn reached the conclusion that it was the sole way out for our people. My doubts were dispelled. Judaism still had a great future, a great historical goal.. Pursuantly, there was a noble and ample field of endeavor for honorable devoted sons of Israel. I found meaning in the name Jew. The great idea of rebirth was worthy of having people work for it. But to give up further educzation and take up plow and spade in an uncivilized land ....so many years I had labored and toiled and I had already grown together with the idea of scientific activity and now, not far from my goal, to exchange all this for the arduous work of agriculture? All the time, a powerful struggle took place within me. I was in a fever until I decided . But now I ;am calm for I know what I wish. A circle of young intelligent people has formed among us with the goal of emigrating to the Holy Land and taking up agriculture. We have no money, but we are certain that once we are there they will quickly establish us, for everywhere they will relate with warm feelings and sympathy to the affair of colonization and we will receive from many societies and influential people the promised assistance. In view of the fact that thorugh the initiative of the Kharkov circle, similar circles to ours have ben established in many cities, we for the sake of single spirited activity have decided to unite with them and have written in this vein to Kharkov. Today we have received a favorable response and so here are the major statistics on our society. It bears the appellation BILU, consists of 525 members and represents a union of many circles under the leadership of the Kharkov Circle which has dubbed itself the Central Bureau, and condudts all affairs of the party of pioneers till its assembly in Jaffa. The goal of the party is the construction of a model colony to serve as an example for all of Jewry. All the circles have to be ready at the first call of the Central Bureau to leave for the gathering point of Odessa.

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I have not written already for ten days. I have not had the physical possibility to do so. There are blisters on my hands, blood is running and I can't open my fingers. IN Russia I thought it was pssible to work eight hours a day and utilize the rest of the time for intellectual pursuits. Mental occupations enter your head here when your back aches so terribly. I have become terribly tired and upon returning from work I am happy to eat quickly and fall asleep. However, this is probably xfrom not being used to it. On the 12th I went to work for the first time. I must not e that owing to the greater proximity to the equator, the sun comes out later in the summer and sets earlier than in Russia. In the winter, it is the opposite. For this reason, the summer days here are always short. We get up at 5:00 R o'clock with the rising of the sun for at six o'clock work already begins. We do not drink tea in the morning. Having made my bed and put under my arm about a pound and a half of bread, we set out. Although most of us can't eat anything so early, some have only a quarter of a pound of bread remaining by the time they reach the specified place. In about twenty minutes we were at Mikveh Israel. Netter established this farm under a commission from the Alliance in 1870. He succeeded in obtaining from the Sultan a Firman according to which he would be granted 180 desyatins of very fine land, 2 1/2 h versts from Jaffa, on the Jerusalem road for a period of 99 years with the purpose of constructing an agricultural school for children. The primary purpoose that he had in mind was to teach Jewish children agricultural labor and then allot them land a full household. In a word, to make of them excellent farmers. But this noble purpose went awry and it is now only a simple farm with a school for the sake of appearaaces, from which the pupils emerge without any profession and they are solely capable for physical work. Mainly they cultivate ______________and grapes . there is also modest cattle and poultry breeding. In a word, it is a wealthy economy. Enxxxhx Forty or more Arabs work here daily, not counting the permanent helpers and students numbering about 60 persons. Work x in the summer begins at six o'clock in the morning and ends at six thirty in the evening. There is a rest period from twelve to one during the day. A bell sounds the signal for the beginning and end of work. We conditioned with Hirsch, the director of the school to work no more than 8 hours a day — fromsix to ten in the morning. and from two thirty to six thirty in the afternoon. We took crowbars and filled the"water jar " (a large earthen jug with a capacity of 2 1/2 gallons with a narrow neck and a wide round base in which the Arabs keep water, wine butter honey — all liquids) and accopanied by an overseer, one of the older students, we set out for the gardens. Raising our clothes high, and rolling up our sleeves ,we started to dig out the land to a depth of six vershoks, and laboriously plucked out weeds and roots. We all stood in a row. I had no understanding what needed to be done, for what purpose, where and in what manner. Nevertheless, I zealously gesticulated with and struck here and there with the crowbar in all directions. After a short time, blisters swelled up on my hands, they burst and blood began to flow and it became so painful that I was forced to drop the crowbar. But quickly I became ashamed of my lack of spirit. "And this is how you wish to show how Jews are capable of physicl labor?" an inner voice began to speak within me. "have you not failed this decisive test? " grudgingly, and not paying attention to the piercing pain in my hands, I again seized the hoe and almost angrily worked for a stretch of two hours. And then out of exhaustion of energy, rested. After this I couldn't do a thing for the entire day. My back ached unbearably and my hands were gravely covered with wounds. The four morning hours seemed to me an entire eternity. At ten o'clock we took our things and went to bathe. Thre are a few pools here and the one in which we bathed is square and has a length of twelve meters and a depth of three meters, so it is possible even to swim there. The water is fresh every day. After bathing we went through a patch of acacia trees which had grown so dense that they didn't let through a single ray of sunlight. Here the monitor brought us a basket of grapes and we ate it with appetite and quickly fell to sleep -- the sleep of the dead. At two thirty they woke me up and ;I couldn't even stir. All my limbs had stiffened up. What would I have given in order that I could sleep a bit more? But I couldn't back out and I got up and dragged behind my comrades. During the first days I was strongly downcast in spirit since the work had such a tortuous influence on me. Later my hand got somewhat used to the work but I suffered terribly from the pain in my back. I wasn't so much tired as I couldn't stand the rheumatic pain in my back. It was necessary to do all the work stooped over. The example of my comrades who were working with energy and never thought of giving up strongly sustainedme. E, a man of a high level, an honorable and straight person, although ;not remote, especially surprised me. He worked with love and rapture and did not straighten his back the entire time. He would habitually bring with him a spare shirt. As soon as the one became thoroughly wet from sweat, he would wring it out and hang it out in the sun and would put on the dry one. Only when he was too tired he would lie on the ground face down and would ask somebody to press down on his bagk with a leg. He woujld get up earlier than everybody and could eat for four people. We had to pass through a stern school .Any sort of easing labor such as building flower beds, planting and picking fruit, watering and so on, they did not give us. But they ordered us to keep on with the crowbar. The overseer was on our neck and did not let us rest for he was ordered to do so. Hersch did this with the purpose of knocking out the idiocy from our skulls and to compel us to go away. Every day he would look on from behind the trees and would suddenly appear among us. He could ot in any wise believe that Russian Jews (about whom the French have a very harsh opinion), and more so intelligentsia could seriously, in the actual sense of the word, work. Mr. Hersch, as a joke, suggested that we clean latrines and we did not refuse, and were occupied the entire day with this repulsive work. A few times we tore out thorns with our bare hands.

They called us to a garden and directed us to tear out ripe Turkish peppers and put them into baskets. The peppers comprable in size to an apple, has a red wavy surface and is filled with white seeds. Gladdned by this switch in chores, we zealously set to the task which lasted for an hour until the rest period. At ten, we set out to bathe and each washed his hands, his face and his body with his hands. Suddenly, one after the other, we felt the powerful heat in our entire body . which became stronger with each passing minute. The pain was of such nature as if we were being scalded in caustic boiling water. We looked upon each other in disbelief, not understanding the cause and meanwhile it burned stronger and stronger. Some huddled up and began jumping up and down. The Arabs came running at the raised racket. They began to ask us questions and when they heard where the matter lay, they exchanged glances and burst into laughter. We got very angry and began to scold them and nearly came to blows. Some of these rascals, with traitorous seriousness said that probably the water in the pool was saturated by some poisonous substance and advised us to go quickly to tell the director about it all. But the latter, attracted by the crowd which had gathered, had already appeared himself and looked upon everybody with surprise, not knowing what to think. The Arabs whispered something to him, and he looked upon us, and cheerfully burst into laughter. It was a very comic picture, actually. Unbearable and fury was etched on our faces and opposite us, were these knaves and savages who stood and laughed. "Here, rub some of this on your lips," an Arab turned to our Latvian friend, giving him a piece of pepper and as soon as he washed his lips, he couldn't close them any longer, they tormented him so. It was as if R. G. had swallowed a flaming corner and with open mouth, bulging eyes, and huffing and puffing he rabidly threw himself upon the ARab, who ran off at full speed accompanied by the stupid deafening laughter of his comrades. And suddenly we understood where the matter lay. That accursed pepper was guilty of everything. Hersch consoled us and actually the pain began to abate quickly. The Arabs have since dubbed G. Hawaje Filful (Mr. Pepper).

E. Khissin

The Russian Jewish emigrants and the strike of the Ne York railway workers -- fire in Vineland -- Annual Meeting of t Saratoga Executive Committee. Male and Female Workers Bureaus. Return of Jewish Emigrants to Russia. A Colony in Dakota.

(Correspondence of Rassvyet, New York, July 10, 1882)

The economic struggle between the New York workers and the railway companies who stubbornly refused to raise wages from 17 to 20 cents an hour, has lasted for a month. The strikers on whose side lies the synpathy of the American people would have long ago emerged on top if not for the Neopolitan Lazzaroni, the Russian Jewish emigrants and the Germans. Up to the last few days the Russian Jewish emigrants have unconsciously acted to undercut the justified demands of the strikers since they have been placed between scylla — the command of Ellinger to occupy the vacant places of the strikers in "Piers" and Charybdis-- the promise of that same Ellinger that in the event of non-compliance, he would scatter them to the four corners of the globe. The unfortunate Russian-Jewish emigrants, escaping starvation, and not possessing a clear understanding about what sort of animal the American strike was, of which they had heard very little about in Castle Garden Square, set to the work of loading goods from the vessels into the railway cars that was difficult not only for them but also for the Irish. In one of my letters I have already mentioned the attack carried out by the local swindlers on the Russian Jewish emigrants who had taken the place of the strikers. The American papers were filled with reproaches for their Jewish committee which in saving the unfortunate Russian Jews from the hatred of the Russian people was re-creating that same hatred on American soil. Th committee, however, gave no heed to the justified and friendly rebukes of American public opinion and the storm, of course, did not tarry in bursting over the grizzled heads of the eternally persecuted Jews. In a skirmish taking place on the 3rd of June in which Russian Jews and Italian scabs were the victims, the strikers did not take part. The avengers were New York inhabitants, occupying the shoreline Riverfront Street. Here are the details:

On the 3rd of July, Monday evening, near the Desbrosses Street Ferry, (a transfer point to New Jersey) a crowd of 200 women and young peopple gathered together, armed with staves and stones. Many beautiful American ladies, transformed their aprons into an xx arsenal for stones. As soon as the first boat from New Jersey, laden with scabs appeared, a hail of stones and curses fell down upon itx In the course of the battle, the staves were loosed and a brutal melee broke out. the pogromchiks accompanied their "honored guests" to a remote street, then they returned to the ferry to meet the next boat. The attacking mob had swelled to 400 men since from the neighboring taverns and gambling dens, thieves and knaves *das Beste Gesindel* of New x York, had joined the initiators. To them the xx scab hunt seemed to be true sport. The passengers of the second boat encountered the same fate as that of the passengers of the first boat. Two Jewish emigrants persued to Hudson Street, fled to the tavern of John McMason, an Irishman, raising to the owner, bloddy trembling hands, tortured by unbearable work. The raging mob, dashed after its victims into the bear saloon. Seizing with a strong hand the young man up front, who had succeeded in squezzing one emigrant like a kitten, the owner struck him to the ground and brandishing a revolver, shouted, "he who dares touch the emigrants will receive a leaden present in his head." The mob retreated and went to search for new victims. One Italian had his lower jaw fractured by a stone. One Jewish emigrant was wounded in the lower part of his body and the wretch could not even move but moaned loudly holding his hip. Many scabs had their clothes ripped off and they fled away in unexpressable circumstances.

The hunt lasted for ahalf hour until the arrival of the police reserve. Instantly, they brought a halt to this inhuman persecution, having put some of the pogromchiks in their place. As I noted above, the strikers did not participate in fisticuffs with the emigrants, as they only sought to attract workers who were not in solidarity with them to their side through agitation meetings. Here is a small illustration of their relationship to Russian Jewish workers. On the morning -of June 7th 12 Russian Jews were taken from Castle Garden to the pier of the Pennsylvania Railway. They were pronounced unfit for work (the emigrants had just gotten off the steamship on which they had starved for 18 days. It was surprising that they could even literally move 540 pound wheelbarrows). Since there was no return ferry on the spot, they were told to get out on the street. Very near to the outcasts, stood about 200 strikers in front of Battery Park who were occupying themselves by spitting out chewing tobacco. The hungry tortured strikers let the emigrants pass through without uttering a single sound.

With the appearance of Sir Halperin, the Jewish emigrants in fulfillment of their duties, no longer took the place of the strikers but the mass of Jewish emigrants numbering 800 persons who had been "fixed up" by Ellinger continued to work at"Piers" of New York and New Jersey.

The more intelligent Russian Jewish emigrants, actively agitated among the dark Jewish emigrant masses and not without success. On the morning of July 12th, 400 Jewish emigrants who were working at "Piers" marched along Broadway (a main New York street, having the length of 25 versts) to St. Peter's Hall for a meeting convoked by Jewish agitators. Behind them, there followed a mob of curious people, who having found out that the Jewish emigrants intended to join the strikers, accompanied the emigrants with boisterous hurrahs to the hall itself. At the meeting, speeches were delivered in the Russian language and in Yiddish which clarified to those present the meaning of the strike, the nedds for the international struggle of the workers with capitalist exploitation, etc. etc. Those present, adopted a resolution to join the strikers. An implementing committee was also selected there, which would, the following day, go to New Jersey and attract the Jewish emigrants working there to the side of the strikers. On the next day, there gathered about 500 Russian Jews in the building where the strike committee was located, with the goal of subscribing to the striker's union. A 60 year old Jew, surrounded by three grown sons, laid out in gold coin, the value of 20 membership stamps,(each stamp valued at 50¢ [tr]), with the following words:"This is our entire wealth which we will sacrifice with all our heart . We do not wish any further to go against the interests of the workers of the country, a country which has received us so cordially." When those present wrote their names down and went into the street, they bumped into the Italians whom Giovanni Petrovich was leading to the Committee for the same purpose. Petrovich who was speaking through an Italian translator had been agitating among the Italian workers in support of the strike.

When the Italians found out that the Russian Jews had signed up for the union a moving and simultaneously comic scene took place. Imagine for yourself, 800 energetically gesticulating people, pounding each other affectionately on the shoulder, hugging and shaking the hands of one another, trying by mime to show each other that henceforth they were brothers and the iterests of one would be the interests of the other. Within an hour, telegrams spread throughout New York that Russian Jews and Italians had adhered to the strikers.

On June 11, I received the following post card from a brother in Vineland: "Yesterday, we had a powerful forest fire, the second in number which consumed much of the forest. The houses survived. the colonists had already removed their possessions, but thanks to a strong rain the blaze was extinguished."

From Saratoga in the State of New York, the following telegram was received dated July 12th: The Executive Council of American Jewish Unions held its annual meeting today. President M. Lothe of Cincinnati, chosen as chairman, opened the meeting with the question: "In what manner could Jewish emigrants be optimally assisted?" After a long debate, they reached the conclusion that the best method lay in teaching trades and constructing agricultural colonies. Likewise, they decided to make an appeal in which the Jewish community would be invited to establish committees where annual dues from the Jews from North America and the US could be gathered, beginning with those 13 years of age, in the sum of $1.00 per person, for the foundation of the *Algemeinen Jüdischen - Kranken Unterstützungs --Fonds.*

In my last letter, I have made mention of the construction in Castle garden of a workers' bureau for the Russian Jewish emigrants.

This bureau has already managed to display its activity. It provided employment in New York for 17 emigrant artisans. Yesterday, it sent 10 families to Ohio. If the Ohio employers remain satisfied with those sent, then they will ask for 40 more families for farm labor. At the Labor Bureau, a few days ago, a craft school for the teaching of sewing opened for Russian Jewish emigrants. Yesterday, 15 Jewish emigrants started back for Russia. Approximately the same number will be sent each week by the local committee. Benoir Greenberg whom you know, together with some solvent families from Rostov on the Don, set out a few days ago for . Dakota, to found an agricultural colony there at their own expense. Yesterday, a telegram from him was received saying that the land had already been selected.

I. Petrofsky

Uppn My Return from Palestine

This article appeared in Voskhod No. 5, 1882.

Oliphant, the main villain of the piece, was an Englishman with a proclivity for filibustering expeditions to various parts of the globe and eventually the idea of settling Jews in Palestine came into his head as well. To Oliphant's credit, he did eventually settle and die in Haifa, surrounded by a colony of Jewish immigrants, including the author of Hatikva, L. H. Imber.

UPON MY RETURN FROM PALESTINE
(Letter to the Editor)

Dear Sir:

Permit a simple and unwily provincial to simply and ingenuously present those impressions and convictions which he carried away from his recent journey to the promised land to where he had been attracted by the common stream and by those burning lamentations which a familiar portion of our journalists disgorged light headedly and without full consideration and oblivious to how much this could cost in material and moral sacrifices. A few years ago, there began to appear in the English press articles and works on colonizing Palestine. Among the Jewish people rumors began to spread about plans and projects which would ostensibly be presented to the Turkish government by some influential persons such as Olipahant, Nuget and Casellet and would be favorably received by the Sultan who promised to permit colonization in a sense favorable to the Jews. On this point, varying opinions arose. Many, generally laughed at the idea. They saw in it solely the idle fantasy of dreamers and regarded it as a chimera. Others, also they also regarded all these projects skeptically, were pleased to see the manifestation among the Jews of the national principle and they sweetly lulled the illusion about the possibility of a rebirth of the East as foretold in the novels of the writer-diplomat, Beaconsfield. Still others saw in it the finger of G-d, indicating that the time had come for the Jews in equality with other peoples, to receive at some point some territory belonging to them and together with this, independence. Quite naturally, these rumors and suppositions on colonization on the protectorate of England, on the construction of railroads and the formation of colossal funds, created a powerful sensation. Racial hatred having again come to the surface, the so-called disorders having continued, the breaking out of a long series of pogroms, the force and plunder of the wild mob, the collapse of the economic situation, and the perspective of the new limitations, further increased the fascination of this idea which was reflected in the striking fact that even people who had no understanding of Judaism who even did not wish to know of it, and held aloof from it, suddenly stood under the banner of Palestine. A familiar portion of the Jewish press took upon itself the pioneering role in this new turn in the national existence. To what extent this part of the press fulfilled its role impartially, whether it brought benefits or caused harm, the reader will be in a condition to judge from what follows below.

The paper seriously began to speak of emigration. One would be for America, the other for Palestine. In one of the Russian Jewish organs, the flowering colonies and the future life in the promised land, was depicted in the rosiest of views. Reading this paper, it seemd that it was necessary for us only to wish it and Palestine would be in our hands. It is understood that already even the question of what language would be conducted by the Jews in Palestine arose. It was reported as though the Sultan had allowed the Jews' to have their own courts and militia. In the provinces they would wearily and with extreme impatience await the appearnace of each copy wherein, with uninterrupted streams of sweet poetry, the bliss and tranquility on the banks of the Jordan is described. All this was read and re-read with great passion. Circles of so-called Palestinians were formed and the idea of colonization was energetically supported and developed in private and public meetings and everybody attempted to spread in society his belief in support of this national affair. There was formed an organization with the goal of gathering together material and literature touching upon Palestine

Likewise, there was no shortage in orators who by word of mouth influenced appealed and propagandized. "Homeward!" "To Palestine." The hapless masses would go into raptures over the fruitful fields and vineyards which they promised them in Palestine. The masses, with tears of joy in their eyes, expressed their sincere desire and resolve to flee to the land of their ancestors, so that there in Judea, they would construct for themselves a new mode of life and would dedicate themselves to agriculture, to obtain bread for their families by the sweat of their brows.

In order to serve the goal of the undertaken movement, the circle sent at their expense delegates to Palestine , with the purpose of studying and investigating conditions for its colonization. One among a number of these delegates of the K circle is presently still in Palestine where he has formed a committee of which he is president. The motto of this committee truly extremely alluring, was "L'Avant-Garde de la Colonisation en Palestine." But in reality, its activity had the character of a reference bureau and it is impossible to say that it enjoyed the trust and respect of society in Palestine. Such was the history of the rise of the Jewish emigration movement to Palestine.

Whether the idea played such a powerful role in a given occasion, or whether other strongly compelling reasons did, the emigration of Jews to Palestine became in a very relatively short time an accomplished fact. Exit visas were distributed without hindrance to entire families to scores of people and even to young men with forthcoming military service. Society saw in this some form of encouragement on the patt of the government itself and a token that it had nothing against it.Many liquidated their affairs sold off their pitiful estate, whatever they had, and departed some to America, others to Palestine. The assemblypoint for the latter became the small city of Jaffa, to where in the large measure they repaired, because it was the closest port to Palestine on the Mediterranean coast. Here the papers already sickly exaggerated. Single instances were turned into tens, tens into hundreds, etc. It was chiefly the impoverished artisan class that journeyed. From the rich, if one actually travelled, then he immediately turned . . back. Some spread rumors that they intended to go, but they all put off the trip. These poor emigrants, had equally no understanding either about Palestine or the Jaffa Committee from which they expected assistance, and so, with only hopes pinned on Oliphant and the Committee, they ran headlong with wives and children to Jaffa. There journeyed those who somehow had scraped together a few hundred roubles. There journeyed those who only disposed of a sufficient sum for one way passage to Jaffa. There journeyed finally those who had nothing to their name. It was terrible yet admittedly funny to see how they solicited contributions on the steamships for tickets. Yes, it was terrible and distressing to see how pitiful indigents launched themselves on a distant difficult journey hoping to reach Constantinople/. at least . through the/. help of good men or . by charity . And there, Oliphant constructs an available railway to Syria, from where it was altogether a few days journey to Jaffa, where the all-saving committee was ensconced.

True, having encountered a series of parties of emigrants, arrivng from Russia, who were all poor, all with large families, but without capital, the society hurried to stipulate in its familiar circular that it had not taken a mass movement upon itself and therefore implored the poor people, to remain where they had been living, but the wild masses did not take pity on this supplication. It is a known fact that they invite the rich to every festival and every banquet, but it is the poor people who show up.

This movement of Jews which had passed from the realm of fantasy to reality, roused me to agree to suggestions made to me by some acquaintances of mine to set out and survey Palestine. Being myself strongly interested in the problem of how much in reality would be possible for the Jews to colonize this country, and knowing the distressing and unfortunate situation of our brothers, I decided to sacrifice time and labor in order to be as useful as possible, and in the capacity of an unofficial delegate, I travelled to the East at the start of this summer.

Not without emotion or sweet expectations. The gorgeous strophes of the young poet found a strong echo in my heart.

Carry away my spirit to the azure distance
Where the golden steppe lies in space
As wide as my fateful melancholy
As wide as my inescapable grief.

I called on ;Mr. Oliphant and other personages interested in the lot of the unfortunate Russian Jews. Afterwards, Jaffa and its notorious committee Jerusalem, Hebron and other places in Palestine. Having acquainted myself with locale, with the native and Jewish populations, and in general with the way of life and governmental structure of the East, I, broken spiritually and morallly disillusioned reached the terrible conclusion *nolens volens* that given the present situation of things, the absence of the indispensable and at this time very substantial capital, given the absence of a solid organization, competent in all aspects, and chiefly given the anarchy reigning in Turkey, the idea of colonizing Palestine with Jews is thoughtless and impossible, to say the least.

This to be sure is a doleful and terrible fact, but looking upon it honorably and impartially, and actually desiring the good of my peopple, it is impermissable not to say it. Leaving aside the fact of the rejection of massive Jewish colonization, in Palestine by the Sultan, was recently ascertained . He indicated syria with the proviso of accepting Turkish citizenship. But let us even assume that thanks to special intercession and under the most favorable of circumstances, the Sultan would permit massive settlement in Palestine, then it will still be a question whether the Jews could take advantage of the circumstances.

The pitiful aspect of the situation of Jewish emigrants dragging along with their families in filthy Galat (a street in Constantinople) the desperation,heartbreaking to the spirit, of whole families and children wandering through the streets of Jaffa, begging alms, and finally the situation of the unfortunate wretches,young Jews who recently arrived from Russia, lacking the means to exist or the opportunity to go back. They were compelled to find refuge among the missionaries in Jerusalem, and subsequently to become Protestants for the sake of bread. This produced a most burdensome impression and a veritable moral shock. I was personally a witness to the desperate manifestions just described and cited. They are not an invention nor the fruit of fantasy. To my question who ordered them and for what had they come, all had one answer: "Our papers told us to go to Palestine. Mr. Oliphant has promised assistance. The Jaffa Committee is building a colony."

As far as is known, from the time the Jews began to make their way to Palestine, with the purpose of obtaining land to create a colony, still no one of the newly arrived Jews has bought a single patch of land. Why is this? Because in Palestine, particularly on the near side, (although if one dwells there, a knwon period of time, it might be possible on occasion to find there land suitable for a colony) , the fact is that there is no idle and free land, as people have supposed, because the Arab himself is very diligent, and with great love he carefully cultivates his fields, gardens and vineyards. The Arab being himself attached to agriculture and gardening, which constitutes his sole occuapation, will not sell his garden fornothing, savid is some extraordinary circumstances compel him to do so. Besides, in order to have the opportunity to purchase anything from the Arab, time and patience are required to wait out the opportunity. Otherwise, once he knows that you want to obtain something from him, he will ask ten times more than the actual cost of the article. Half a year of haggling is necessary and when finally you have concluded something, then it means nothing to him to back out under various pretexts. mFinally, it is necessary to pay fifty to sixty roubles a desyatin for decent land. Aside from this it is necessary for the colonist to construct for himself habitable housing.He is required to obtain agricultural and household implements, horses, cattle and other things are also needed, which cost very dearly there. They are far from being cheap as the Jaffa Committee disseminates. Judging from this, a family that arrived in Jaffa , disposing of a capital of 500, 1000 or even 1500 roubles cna make do. One can hardly count two score of these families the-e. All the rest are impoverished, ragged and needy even for a crust of bread.

There is no doubt that the land in Palestine is good and suitable for agriculture, that there are luxuriant lemon and orange groves and beautiful vineyards. Remarkably, the sandy and rocky soil gives forth gorgeous vegetation. I saw in Bab -el-Wad (a village at a distance of 3 hours journey from Jaffa to Jerusalem) a huge and clearly ancient olive grove growing from the jagged rocks that are found on the cliffs of the mountain. In Hebron, for example. some trustworthy people told me that there are vineyards that yield 36% on capital per annum. The question arises what owner of similar estates would voluntarily sell them? Perhaps he would sell them, but only at a very dear price. No one has any superfluous or unoccupied soil as a result of the abundance of vineyards. Moreover, from the time the grapes begin to m-ture, until wine making, the owner of the vineyards must protect them from theft, arms in hand. The Jew would not be in a condition to spend entire months under arms. Perhaps there is nothing impossible , but during the initial period he will not be capable of it. Finally, both knowledge and diligent care are requisite for vineyards, and this in turn demands experience and time.

A worker's labor is very purely compensated there. Regularly, the most difficult labor from sunrise to sunset, the skilled and necessary labor of the fellahs, receives three piasters a day, 24 kopeks in our money. (figuring by the present rate of exahange) aside from rations. But if one provides his own grub, he gets double. The ration allotted to the worker consists of greens and beans; beef they allot only once a week. Additoinally it is in my opinion difficult for the Jew who has no opportunity to run his own household, and is compelled to subsist as a laborer, to compete with the native Arabs. Anyone would prefer the Arab worker for one reason -- the Arab is already used to the hot burning sun. The Jew must first get used to the climate the food the order, and to productive work itself. And all this requires years of time.

Trade and industry in Palestine are hardly in a rudimentary state and are in need of development. One can point to some branches of industry which in the hands of industrious and experienced people can bring great benefit both to the country and to the entrepreneurs. For example, the production of olive butter. At the present time, the butter is produced by primitive means and squeezed out by wooden presses. In the wake of the inability production has not been successful and the butter itself does not come out either clean or tasty. Glass production could aso give good results. But this affects some riuh people because a large transfer campital is neceszary for all this. As is well known a person disposing of large capital, prefers of course the ample refined life of Europe to the somnolent and ever-dawdling life of the East under the despotic and anarchic rule of Turkey. Very few rich pioneers will be foujnd among us, I think, who will be willing to sacrifice capital for the sake of an idea. Let us turn now to the following problem: It is indispensible to the posiblity of fulfilling the idea of colonizing Palestine that the contingent of people striving to this end, should consist of the following three categories: intelligent people as the leadership force; capitalist poeple by whose means chiefly the idea can be carried out and finally people for physical labor. In the business of colonization, capital plays an important role, wihtout which the idea cannot be actualized. Pursuantly, when we have no capital, our rich are too conservative, they are still not fully permeated by a feeling for the national principle, their treasureries are still closed to their struggling brothers, and abroad, all the Alliances and even Mr. Oliphant, have up to now extended now assistance whatsoever. With what then, let it be asked, will the colony be constructed? Perhaps upon the last coppers or the hundred roubles of some tens of paupers? One tradition, so speaks Von Kredon in the words of Beaconsfield, does not create a force. It is necessary to add art to it. It is impermissable to lose sight of the fact that the life-style of Europe and the East are two completely opposite thikngs. All those ideals and understandings about more lofty goals which we so cherish, still have no place there. In order that the cultured person can exist there, and I am speaking in the intellectual sense, it is necessary for him first of all to weld his sphere , his society and his culture. And all these are formed very slowly. Many scores of years will pass by before the slightest hint of a suitable culture will be established. But in any case, it is not for the Russian Jews to create it there. It is a more honest assumption that the nature and life of the East will sooner dictate to us its conditions than we shall be able to dictate ours to it. Moreover, such a great struggle such Herculean labor stande before this. Meanwhile our bases and hopes for achieving these goals becmme more and more shaky and there will hardly be found such pioneers who will agree to sacrifice themselves for an unfruitful life and death struggle. Fianally, we are not without kith and kin. Each of us has old parents, sons and daughters, whom we will throw to the tyranny of fate without having the right to do so. It is necessary to keep in view that in additiona to the commmn struggle, a powerful struggle awaits the colonizers with parts of the Palestinian Jwish community embittered against their co-religionists who intend to intrude into their fanatical religious world and agitate in support of a new emancipated life wishing to spread the enlightenment in the midst of Palestinian Jewry and to disperse that murky cloud of of course fanaticism which is even at the present moment preserved in all its force.

Finally, it is not necessary to overlook the political structure of Turkey and its administrative and judicial organization. For the success of such a venture as colonization, it is indispensable first of all that the colonists should be guaranteed against all capriciousness emanating from tyranny. They say that Turkey is the land of freedom. Surely, but what is behind this freedom? It is a freedom that emerges not from principle, not because there exist a cultured peaceful life but solely becuase the country is disorganized, because no order exists and anarchy reigns supreme there and where everything is sold for "bakshish", we can expect neither defense nor law. For what Turkey does not have herself, she cannot give to us.

Through my notes, I did not wish at all to say that the idea of colonizing Palestine due to the clarified reasons, is absolutely impossible. All the obstacles through known circumstances can be cleared away. But that verily, at this given moment, in the situation in which emigration to Palestine appears today, this movement aside from bringing misfortune to an unfortuante person, and aside from destruction, can bring nothing good. I regard it as my sacred duty to say this. With all my desire to approve of a laudable impulse, of a certain part of the Russian Jewsh press, if this is done sincerely and without ulterior motives, with respect to the idea of colonizing Palestine, however, it is impermissable not to point to the absence within it of clearheaded consideration, which is indispensable to the matter of national resettlement. It is impermissable not to point to an overly idyllic understanding relative to the possibility given the conditions of the practical actualization of this undoubtedly beautiful idea, and therefore this portion of the press is the chief cause for the destruction of many poor families. Verily, the obligation rests on our press, Instead of stirring up minds excitedly, to first calmly and not one-sidedly judge and verify the situation of such a serious business in order to give society a correct and expedient direction. The task of the press in a given circumstance lies solely in that it should report on and prevent in time, all that can threaten danger to a society, instead of itself pushing some very blind masses to the edge of the abyss.

Of course, the appearnace in the midst of our people of the idea of colonization and in the distant future, the rebirth of Palestine, is a very gratifying and valuable fact. When we will have capital, a good organization and the protection of some organized European power, then all the hindrances which do not permit at the present time the accomplishment of goals, to which every cultured Jew, who is devoted to his people should strive, cannot and should not serve as obstacles to the actualization of this great national idea. But given the contemporary situation of our cause, to propagandize emigration to Palestine means simply to sow the seeds for a new unfortunate sacrifices.

At least this is the convictin which I, a formerly warm supporter of this emigration, carried away from my recent trip and arrival in the promised land.

G. Gurevitch
Alexandria

INTRODUCTION כתבים לתולדות הבה ציון

The following is extracted from Abraham Alter Drujanoff's כתבים לתולדות חבת ציון . Vol. I, pp. 52-63.

In this article, we see the current of Jewish emigration running strongly after the pogroms with one stream turning westwards to America and the other eastwards to Palestine. The article also provides x us with insight as to spur of the moment decisions and the idealism cum naivte of many of the participants.

2 March 1882

Only one means remains: emigration. But the question arises: where to emigrate? Some are for Palestine, others for America. Let us see what is better in our opinion.

Supporters of resettlement in Palestine are of the opinion that it is time for the Jews to cease wandering, that it is necessary for them to obtain their own piece of land and thier own government, so others will begin to respect them and they wont be at everyone's beck and call. I am in accord that the rebirth of a Jewish government would be good and influential. But therein lies the question: would the Sultan for some sort of compensation agree to cede Palestine to the Jews so that it could be called by their name or that it should be politically their property -- this is the crux of the problem. Let us even assume that this will not arouse any rebuff on the part of the great powers, which is highly doubtful. But even if we thought that it was possible, where are the funds which will be required for it, indubitably in a not insubstantial amount. You know our bigwigs, jealously defend their bags of gold and rarely, very rarely do they decide to cough up the money. And do we not presently witness what sort of assistance the western Jews provide. From this it is clear that we can in no wise obtain Palestine . Consequently, the question of where to settle boils down to the question, where is it better -= in Palestine or in America?

For those Jews who desire to trade and pursuantly will go with means America appears highly more attractive than impoverished Palestine. He who wishes to take up agriculture, what will he find in Palestine? True it was once fertile, that was in the far distant past. From then unto the present, in the wake of neglect for the country, the winds have constantly brought clouds of sand there from the desert which has created such layers that Palestine never one of the most fertile countries of the world represents today only naked bald hillocks and sandy ravines. Totally different is in America, which possesses such fertile places which you will find no where in Europe and in Asia. The fertileness of Canada is familiar to all, as is the land near the Mississippi and other places where they give land to the Jews. Finally, taking into consideration the laws of Turkey and the United States, compensation for work and the degree of security we can easily decide which country to give preference to. And so I will go to America, and solely to America People with families, even if they are middle aged, cannot tear themselves apart from Russia and travel to an unknown region, consigning themselves to the will of fate. We are precisely duty-bound to rescue them and therein lies the purpose of my travel to America. When a decent number of people have assembled, we will go and lay a foundtion for a agricultural colony and when we have acquired the essentials, we will bit by bit invite people with families who will now be able to decide upon the step in far greater security. There we will be able to entrust fitting work to everyone. In proportion to the growth of the resources of our colony, we will also be able to increase the population and thus the success of our undertaking will be directly dependent on the wealth of the colony. This is the sole means through which we can at least partially help our brothers in persecution.

So, setting myself this goal, I began to persuade Peter Mark to go He agreed. Then I also succeeded in pursuading to this end Aaron Lapidus Zalkin, David Zak and others. All aside from Aaron Lapidus are from the seventh form in the gymnasia, but of these, only Lapidus is a sure bet to go. In token of which, we shook hands. The others are still mulling it over because they cannot renounce their glittering hopes. My brother Osip, and my sister Lisa, will surely go with us. Pursuantly, we are for the time being four. On the same day when I decided to go to America, I upon returning home heard to my surprise that my father was talking with his wife about resettlement in America and taking up agriculture. The primary and sole obstalce is the lack of finances, but we have decided to leave by foot if needs be, and we will be in America !

March 11 1882 Today when I began to pursuade one acquaintance to go with us to America, I foujnd out that he was a member of a circle planning to go to Palestine.

April 12 1882 In my intentions there ensued a total upheaval. As I stated previously, having decided to go to America, I began to gather a company of people. All our people were without means and I was very much concerned since I did not foresee from which direction we could expect support. However, I lunched in an eating house with one medic with whom I got acquainted with there. He told me that he had spoken with some some Chlinov who requested that I come to see him. When I asked if he could render us material assistance, he answered that Chlinov had a lot of money and that we would definitely receive assistance from him and from his society. I was so despairing about means for the emigration of our circle, that the news cheered me up immensely. I was in quite a powerful emotional state and did not know how to thank him for this service. I asked him the address and on the following day made my way to Chlinov. This was a gymnasia student from the seventh form.

It turned out that he didn't at all have such resources as to be in a condition to help us, but he himself was a member of the Palestine circle. Hearing that I and some other young people were thinking of going to America, he invited me to him wishing to persuade me to go to Palestine and not to America and to join their circle. He asked me for what reasons I was really going to America, and I laid them out before him. Then he gave me an issue of Rassvyet in which there was an extensive article which described the soil of Palestine in detail and lauded it extraordinarily.

In such a manner the most important reason for which I had preferred America to Palestine, turned out to be groundless. Next he began to expound before me, upon the aspect of the absence of agricultural competitors in Palestine and their significance in America, since the Americans knew how to cope with competitors more industrious than they. In support of this, he advanced the fact that it was forbidden in the future for the Chinese to emigrate to the United States . Those for whom it was most convenient to get rid of dangerous competitors had striven more than anyone else to this end. Of course, no one could guarantee us that the Americans would not pull the same prank upon the Jews, if matters went well for the latter. Additionally, the Jews could in no way form there a single dense population but they would disperse over the entire country in that wide part of the world, each to where it would be most convenient for him. In Palestine, they will definitely join together into one thick mass, possessing strong common interests. With regards to the liberty which awaits the Jews in America and in Palestine, there is no great difference here. The Sultan has promised the Palestinian Jews full equality, their own judicial system and a communal structure which they desire. Finally, when the Jews will be there in a large number, it is possible to expect that through influence and money we will succeed in creating a principality, even with the proviso of paying tribute to Turkey. Moreover, the gravitation of the Jews to Palestine- the smaller expenditures required for the journey and other manifold re-asons, will serve us as a guarantee that the resettlement of all Jews from all coutries of the world in Palestine will take place always. Even when the Jews will not have to bear such pogroms, whereas now not a single week passes by without them.

These and many other arguments completely unsettled me. I was in disorder. Having decided to go to America, I counted on taking up agriculture for six to ten years and then to finish university, since I wished to work for tohers as well as for myself. This leaving for Palestine would necessitate condemning this matter to total failure. I was desolated for nearly a week but finally I decided upon the latter course. It cost me a lot of work to convince the comrades but we agreed to journey to Palestine.

Lapidus at that time was also accepted into the above-mentioned circle. I had to halt because I wished to journey with my sister and father, but they did not wish to accept him into the circle since he was not a young man. But my father soon thought better of going and I promised the members of the circle that I would journey alone with my sister. Here a new complication arose. The number of members had appreciably increased in the circle and many were fundless. (strictly speaking, each member had to bring in something and therefore a person who had brought in five roubles was considered fundless). Therefore, the circle had decided to accept as few fundless members as possible. Finally, I joined the circle of Palestinians with my sister on the 3rd of April.

April 17
882

I find myself now on the eve of great and fateful events in my life. These events have sharply altered the course of my life. After these I finally entered the arena of honorable and useful activity. After these, my entire future is dedicated to a great calling which will only conclude together with my life. My preparation has concluded and I have become already an actor in the unending drama of life. These events are tied with my undoubted departure for Palestine.

The other day, a Boris Paleyesh arrived from Kharkov. He is a student of the Veterinary Institute who is a member of the Kharkov circle of emigrants. At the meeting of April 10th at our circle, it was decided that due to our lack of means, we should unite with some wealthier circles but only if it would go with the same goal with which we were going and if it planned to establish a colony on socialist bases. The abovementioned Paleyesh suggested to us to unite with their circle and as a result of this we convoked a special gathering for the 15th of the month. Paleyesh was also invited to this gathering. First of all they recited the hymn, our program and the history of our circle. After this, Paleyesh began to tell about the Kharkov circle. This circle consisted solely of intelligent people, in order thatthere should be no discord. From Kharkov itself fifty people were going, but this circle had sent delegates to many cities to recruit suitable people and if at all possible, people with money. The aroused condition of the Southern Jews and the capability of the delegates dispatched, accomplished the formation of circles in many cities. All these circles together with the central Kharkov one numbered nearly 525 persons.

In the previous period, the people ardently burned from impatience and sought to emigrate without delay. But the Kharkov circle succeeded in convincing them to remain for a while, while they departed and prepared something for them. The people understanding full well that the youthful intelligentsia not only was not leaving out of personal need but was even sacrificing a great deal for their interest, placed full confidance in the intelligentsia and affirmed that even if they were beaten again, they would not budge from the spot until they received the necessary accounts from the persons departed. And they beseeched the circle only to depart more speedily. And thus it was decided to leave after three weeks. This decision took place on the 6th of April but such an early departure seemed too hurried and in all probability we will go on one of the first days of the mohth of May. Seeing that the rich people didn't want to sacrifice money for emigration, the circle wrote letters to some very well known rich people in which they beseeched aid for their suffering persecuted and plundered people. All the rich people were terribly alarmed by this letter and agreed to give money, less however, than what the representatives of the circle requested. Paleyesh himself does not know how this turned out since he left at this time for Moscow and did not receive any more letters. For deciding the question whether to unite or not with the Kharkov cirlce, a gathering was called for today. At this gathering, it was written to the Kharkov circle that we wish to unite ourselves to it and towards this we request that it write us concerning its goal, its means, and the support on which it is counting upon and under which conditions we can be accepted.

ay 16,1882 In response to our letter, we received the following letter from Kharkov:

Kharkov, April 23, 1882

Brothers:

We readily and joyfully desire the unity of all honorable and like-minded poeple who wish to join us in order to work with united forces towards the realization of our great task -- the unity and happiness of our long suffering people. Our member, Mr. Paleyesh, has transmitted to you the goal and program of our circle. Nevertheless, we advise you to read the 16th issue of Rassvyet for a greater clarification of the essence of our task. There, Messrs. Oliphant and Levontine, clearly lay out the fundamental bases upon which our first colony will be formed. They expressed entirely the principle of our circle and all those who have united with us. Regarding answers to your questions, we are responding to your second and fifth questions (2) . All persons wishing to emigrate with the first party which must serve in the construction of a model colony, and a striking example for the enitre people, must quickly unite with us. All circles which are uniting with us have to be ready to embark on the journey at the first written notification of the Central Bureau.(5)/ The gathering point is Odessa, where all will journey to at the specified day (not later) All will be informed of the departure date in the near future. For all the remaining questions you will find an answer in the 16th issue of Rassvyet and in the same issue of Russkiy Yevrey (see the correspondence on the contribution of 20 million and the permission of the Sultan for the project. If your circle agrees to the above-mentioned conditions, then we will unite you to our party of which you will be quickly informed upon receipt of your answer.

CENTRAL BUREAU
P. Dunayevsky (in the name of the entire circle)

Having received this letter, we wrote them how many members could journey in the immediate future and upon what means we were relying. But suddenly the news struck us like thunder that the Turkish Counsel had posted an announcement on the doors of Odessa, bringing to the attention of Jews desiring to journey to Palestine, that the Sultan forbade them to emigrate there. This information was confirmed by all the papers. Despatches were sent to many influential people abroad seeking clarification. A telegram was received from Oliphant: " I will quickly journey to Constantinople. It is impermissable to give credence to the dispatch. "
This answer far from cheered us. We saw that this was no laughing matter. At the same time we received notification from the Central Bureau that they received the letter form Oliphant in which he advised them to wait untilhe had held final discussions with the Sultan. After the above mentioned informaton, we received another letter from there saying that it was not true that they would furnish us with clarificatin in another letter but they asked us not to believe the newspaper correspondence but to immediately turn to them for information. They likewise made inquiry regarding members ready to travel at the first summons, regarding their age, education and occupation.

On the 10th of the month, the treasurer of our circle went to a meeting of contributors. First of all they had gone to some Friedenberg. He gave them a list of rich people among the Moscow Jews and they began to go to each one of them. All in all there have been gathered to this time up to 200 roubles. Now I would like to cite here two letters which we received one after the other from the Central Bureau....the second letter: Odessa, May 13, 1882.

Central Emigration Bureau
Party Bureau of BILU

Dear Sir, Mr. Paleyesh:

The Central Bureau has received the following trustworthy accounts from Constantinople. The Sultan does not oppose the emigration of Jews to Palestine, guided as much by his own good volition as by the instructions of the Koran, where it says that each emigrant can obtain a piece of land where it is convenient to him for a price established by the government. Regarding the announcement published in Odessa by the Turkish consulate about the unwillingness of the Sultan to allow the colonization of Palestine by Jews, that was brought on by the fact that the Turkish authorities assumed that poor Jews would flood Constantinople, and in such a fashion, the contingent of the proletariat would increase — a development undesirable to the Turkish government. Perusaded of the fact that emigration will have assumed a strong organizational structure, it had already resinded its previous decisions. Sir Oliphant in a private meeting with influential representatives from the Jews, explained the slowness of his activities by the fact that he was soliciting the Turkish government to agree to an English protectorate over all future Jewish colonies. -- a venture in which he hoped to have success. Important helpers to Sir Oliphant in the business of emigration were

Casselet and Bleichreder, who, as we have been informed by reliable sources had received a concession for the construction of a railway to Syria and Messopotamia. Additionally, the Jews had obtained for themselves a protector at the Turkish port in the person of the important noble, Astri Bey. All this which is divulged in the letters in the letters of Levontine is confirmed by the story of eye witnesses who have just returned from Palestine to Odessa. The latter echo with enthusiasm reports on the fertility of the soil, the healthfulness of the climate, the potability of the water and will themselves leave with their families in the near future. The Bureau calls to yor attention that in view of the extraneous expenses which it has had in to Odessa, Constantinople and Jaffa, where it has to maintain branches, it is complelled to take from each member of our party as well as from the 11 members of your party, three roubles per person. These sums should be sent in the most immediate future to the following address: Yevreskaya Ulitsa , House # 30, Apartment 7 Joseph Brown.

21,1882 We have counted on having for the voyage and in Jaffa fifty roubles per person, but since we still have a surplus, I suggested that we accepted one young person without funds by the name of Rozovsky. He is 25 years old and an accountant by profession. He seems the most laudalble person, but it does not please everyone very much to accept a member without money.

May 27,1882 In the last (19) issue of Hamelitz a letter from Constantinople by some Rabinovitch of Kishinev was published. It was stated there that Oliphant was totally a naked beggar, a charlatan, who was in no sort of friendly relations with the Sultan as he had written, but that the Sultan was even stirred up against -him because he had written some books ~~against~~ about Turkey which did not speak well of it. In a word, this letter preeented Oliphant as some sort of vagrant. As it seems, we are fated to meet obstacles at each step and experience disillusions. We had placed great hopes on Oliphant. He was in friendly relations with the Sultan and had great connections in diplomatic circles of Europe. Pursuantly, he could solicit for us importnat privileges and abatements. He could through his influence move others to render us financial assistance. /He was wealthy and he had up to ten estates in America. He said that he would sacrifice milllions for thos emigsating to Palestine. He knew of the existence of our party. He corresponded with it. - He took a special personal participation in it. Hence, at least he if not others would help us. And suddenly, oliphant the beggar and the charlatan. This letter ~~alarmed~~ alarmed us extraordinarily. I was at Paleyesh's place. He read us this letter and did not know what to thinkl He really wanted to believe that this was a lie and a slander. Having discussed the matter for a while, we decided to sedd a telegram to Odessa so that they could quickly write back as to what this signified. On the Sabbath we will have a meeting at which time we will possibly have received an answer. If they themselves will know what to answer.

This article is taken from Russkiy Yevrey. It is a survey of Jewish events in Russia and abroad as seen by the editors of the journal, strongly dominated by the St. Petersberg Jewish establishment, comprised of select Jews who had been permitted to settle in the capital. The idee fixe of this group was that Jews would gain acceptance once their legal situation was improved and when they became fully engaged in productive labor they wuld lose the tag of a merchant and exploiter race.

While the events in Germany were serious, the editors, particularly in their attacks against Bismarck, may have been attempting to pick up a few Brownie points iwth the Russian government, which was still smarting from Bismarck's handling of the Berlin Conference of 1878 which reversed some of Russia's gains against the Ottoman Empire.

The issue is that of January 4, 1881.

(Footnotes follow the article)

The role of the year 1880 in Jewish history apparently consisted in sharpening and placing in greater relief those anamolies, those unfavorable developments in Jewish life which the preceding year 1879 initiated. Observing at the start of the previous year, the situation of our co-religionists in various countries of Europe, we stated that only in Germany was the peaceful tendency of Jewish life destroyed by the voice of enmity and obscurantism. Unfortunately, this voice not only was not stilled in the course of the year 1880 but even began to spread with especial virulence, destroying the the tranquility of peaceful men of good will and arousing primitive instincts, feelings of turbulent malice and hatred in the hearts of those who were capable of submitting to this voice. One can presently find plenty of susceptible people in Germany. Two great bloody wars accompanied by innumerable horrors and the lo-s of life of 100,000 men in the flower of their years, could not, of course, mold the German nation in an ennobling fashion. The predatory instincts of ancient barbarism have awakened and have sought an outlet for themselves. Moreover, these ten years which had passed since the conclusion of the FrancoPRussian War were not years of beneficial peace and internal tranquility for Germany and especially for Prussia. As soon as the stormy mood of the victors at the sight of an enemy humiliated and cast into the dust had passed, as soon as the trimphal paeans of masses befogged by their victories, had stilled , then the banner of internal discord was raised. For some reason or another, it seemed suitable to the conductor over German legislation, seeing himself at the zenith of his power, to smash the power and influence of the Catholic clergy.[2] In this affair, the Liberals were employed, those very Liberals against whom the same "Iron Chancellor" sought salvation in entering an alliance with the Social Democrats. At that time there took place a systematic baiting of the

Catholics skillfully organized by the idol of contemporary diplomacy. But as soon as the notorious May laws were implemented, then the Liberals were cast away and a gradual campaign against them began. This gave free rein again to Social Democracy, the decisive foe of German Liberalism and the people greedily gave ear to the volcanic tirades of the contemporary Atillas preaching the destruction of the entire structure of our civilication. But when the Social Democrats began to get naughty, and to play such pranks, which the creator of the policy of blood and iron could not remain indifferent to, they began to think up measures to bridle the men of the red banner, secretly hoping to turn these measures in due courese, against the liberals. If we add to this the extraordinarily difficult economic crisis, the unbearable taxes with their constant growth through Bismarkian machination, then a very clear picture of that peace and tranquility which Germany enjoyed from the time of her obtaining five billion and two provinces, presents itself before our eyes. It is understandable that all these circumstances could not abet the ennobling of morals and the elevation of ideals of the German people in whose midst spite, hatred and teeth-gritting was very skillfully maintained and developed for many consecutive years. And now this supply of improper characteristics of human nature, has been put into motion against the Jews. Through them, they hoped to attain a few goals simultaneously. Firstly, they hoped ~~that~~ to direct in such a manner, all accumulated popular discontent towards the least dangerous direction for the German Chancellor and his political projects. Secondly, they assumed that in the artificial arousal of the people against the Jews, it would be possible to find a bridge upon which they could reach agreement with the obstinate parliamentary Center and gain its favor without having to make even a single actual concession. Finally, it would be possible to painfully repay the various Laskers who unguardedly preferred the common interests of the entire German nation to the private interests of their kinsmen who courageously rejected the venture of the Chancellor which in their thier opinion did not tend to benefit Germany. Here, is the political background for these repulsive pictures of enmity and interneccine conflict which diminish the dignity of Germany in the eyes of all civilized peoples and which the present German government, inasmuch as it is devoured by the personal influence of Prince Bismark, devises on the sly. This is the source of the unheard of impudence with which some Stoecker permits himself to cast filth upon the unsullied names of the best men of the German race, and ~~xhaix~~ the unsolicited uninvited advice with which he and his friend Treitschke appear. How will this entire history end? Our readers know that 74 names of the most illustrious names in Germany in scientific and artistic pursuits, stood resplendently behind an appeal in which the German nation was invited to put an end to the disgraces being carried out under the Christian Social banner bnaner. They know likewise that the best people of Germany are daily joining this appeal. True, the people are still a long way from heeding this admonitory voice of their finest individuals. Too much hatred and dissatisfaction have accumulated in their heart during the last period. Though it is very possible that the dissatisfaction that has accumulated in the heart of the German masses will soon seek for itself a different direction. That the German common man will soon understand that it is not the Jews who are guilty of the fact that he is suppressed by taxes and assessments, that he cannot have bread for his family, but he has to have a few marks ready for Sturnheimer, That the Jews are not guilty of that militarism which is consuming the best forces of the people. Changes of the economic system instituted by the German Chancellor have closed off for German industry its main previous market for the sale of its production -- Russia. It is possible to hope that sooner or later the German Michel will understand this. And then, possibly, Prince Bismarck and his men will arrive at the belated realization that it is sometimes much easier to arouse malicious spirits than to free one self of them.

The general moral sickness, as is well known, sometimes possesses the same epidemic nature as bodily illnesses. It may range over entire oblasts , going from place to place, producing everywhere moral bankruptcy. This occurred with the Anti-Semitic movement as well which speedily traversed the boundaries of Germany and quickly penetrated into Austria. But there apparently, this moral and social epidemic found for itself a far less hospitable soil. There the mendacious military ebullience was lacking and many other conditions which contributed to the development of moral miasma in the neighboring state. As a result of this, the Anti-Semitic ventures have not emerged from the elementary stage and we will hope that they will not emerge from this state despite the desperate attempts of ~~he~~ the main carriers of the contagion, Stoeker and Istoczy.[1]

But at the same time when the apostles of malice and hate are making such efforts to increase the numbers of their co-thinkers, the expired year 1880 has snatched from us one of ~~the~~ our most illustrious apostles of love, humanity, peace and brotherly love, Isaac Adolph Cremieux who concluded his rich earthly pursuit of the good on the 29th of January 1880. We do not wish to dwell here upon the personality of the deceased and his public service. Cremieux as a man did not belong only to Jews,and good people of all nations esteemed him according to his merits. One of the outstanding Russian journals stated among other things that Cremieux was one of the finest people who had ever existed. The loss of such a good genius of Western Jewry in such a period when malicious spirits of enmity and persecution, again began to frequently surface from the murky depths when the old beast of barbarism began with a special anger to attack everything that is good, beneficial and humane in contemporary society, was especially painful for us. However, the wholesome activity of Alliance Israélite has not terminated for Western Jews with the death of the great man and patriot who stood at its head.

In other European countries the elapsed year 1880 was not distinguished by any especially significant developments in Jewish life. Aside from this, in the Far East, in this promised land, this year was a period of all sorts of agitation. This internal strife, especially in Jerusalem, constitutes a chronic manifestation. The tendency towards interneccine conflict in conjunction with the superfluous and frequently spurious pieties of the rabbis and ecclesiasts have long served as a hindrance to beneficial undertakings on the part of the "Alliance Israélite" and other illustrious private personages. But in the past year, the strife and discord has exceeded prvious dimensions. Some heroes of the murkiness began to grow frantic providing such scope for intrigue that from day to day it is becoming more terrible and onerous for honorable men of good will. Yet it is not foreseeable that the reign of discord and intrigue will soon terminate. Let us turn now to our internal affiars. Having cast a cursory glance on life of Russian Jews after the elapsed year, we do not find anything particularly comforting in our legal situation. The prohibition for the Jews to live on the soil of the Don army which occurred only last summer, their eviction from some localities in Bessarabia, udnertaken recently, and subsequently a few other minor measures relating to the Jews ensued. This was all that distinguished the year 1880 ~~wxh~~ with respect to our juridical situation in Russia. We did not dwell in detail upon them even at the time of their occurrence and now we likewise can recall them only casually. Totally different was our social situation in Russia. Inthis respect the year 1880 will be memorable to our poor folk because of two phenomena illustrating two mutually contradictory trends. The aggravating role of the past year was, as is known, also telling upon the ~~x~~ situation of our masses who already in the previous year 1879 experienced severe want. In the year just expired, this indigence assumed the proportions of actual starvation with all its attendant developments.

Equity demands that we acknowledge that the majority of Jewish communities treated this manifestation in an honorable fashion and it was a rare city where the matter of assistance to the needy was not more or less soundly organized during this hard time. However, no one can doubt that this assistance in its very essence, can be only a temporary and fleeting ~~thikng~~ thing. Our forward-looking people in the capital have thought up a far more radical form of assistance to the indigent masses and not only have they devised it but they soon proceeded into action. There is no need to explain to our readers that we are talking of "The Committee for the Spread of Artisan and Agricultural Labor Among the Jews in Russia." The necessity for such a society was observable long ago. The idea floated around and the lack of initiative in drawing it out from the realm of theory and establishing it upon the soil of reality" was lamented at the start of the past year 1880. We expected that we would be compelled to await this initiative for a long time. But on the 23rd of March 1880, our expectations were belied in the most pleasing manner. On that day the imperial will laid the first foundations. After a short while the matter began to take on more defined contours, and finally permission was granted to establish a temporary committee which is expected to work out a charter for the future Society for Artisan and Agricultural labor among the Jews in Russia on the one hand and on the other proceed to ~~be~~ the implementation of the cherished dreams of the finest portion of Jewish society to further the development of productive labour among Russian Jewry. What of the participation of the Jews themselves in this matter? Up to now it is still far from sufficient. Out of a three-million sized Jewish nation in Russia only thirteen thousand have participated in this national common endeavvor through their contributions. One can only hope that the contribution of the people has not been exhausted with these gifts, to an undertaking which bears such immense significance, that in the coming year the ranks of the participants will swell to a hundred thousand and that in such a manner the year 1880 will be the beginning of a new era for the Jewish people -- the era of productive labor, the era of a return to the soil from which inexorable fate and human malice ripped us, an era of external tranquility, internal sufficiency and moral perfection.

Footnotes: Russkiy Yevrey, January 4, 1881

[1] The Prusso-Austrian War and the Franco-Prussian War

[2] Prince Otto von Bismarck

[3] This was the so-called Kulturkampf .Bismarck feared the influence of the Catholic Church and its Centre Party which he viewed as encouraging separatist pressures both in former independent German states such as Bavaria as well as among the Polish subjects of the German Reich.

[4] The May Laws provided that Catholic clergymen had to study for three years in a state university prior to attending a Catholic seminary. Additionally, all appointments to parish posts had to be counter-approved by the state. Dioceses which failed to comply with these regulations would forfeit their subsidy.

[5] The Centre refers to the Catholic Party.

[6] Lasker was a Jewish leader of the Liberal Party who broke with most of his fellow party members and opposed the Kulturkampf.

[7] Adolf Stöcker was a Berlin court preacher who founded the Christian-Social Workers' Party, which later became a Christian Social Party on an anti-Semitic platform. This party was tacitly supported by he government. One of Stocker's statements, "Israelites are a foreign poeple and can never become one with us, unless they are converted to Christianity." (& H. G. Adler, The Jews in Germany , p. 82)

[8] Heinrich von Treitschke was a conservative German nationalist and militarist. [illegible] complainted that the Jews did not want to become Germans and held themselves apart. [illegible]is was the cause of the "deep-seated and long smoldering anger" against them. Treitschke favored the establishment of a Jewish State to solve the purported dual nationality problem of the Jews.

[9] Gyozo Istoczy was an anti-Semitic Hungarian lawyer and politician. He also advocated shipping all the Jews to Palestine. He charged that Jews enslaved Christians through usury and their control of he press. He was the founder of the anti-Semtic party. The anti-Semitic wave in Austria crested in 1896 with the election of Dr. Richard Lueger to the post of mayor of Vienna.

1

I. Ilyashevitz

What is to be Done with the Jews in Russia

Scurce: Vyesenik Narodnoy Voli (Herald of the People's Will) No. 5, 1886

Ilyashevitz' article is interesting both from a socialist viewpoint and from a Jewish historical point of view. In his article, we see a stress on worker socialism and a break with the idealization of the peasant, which the People's Will Movement had previously viewed as the fuel of the revolution. Ilyashevitz is trying to win back a Jewish intelligentsia which had been severly disillusioned by the pogroms and had flocked in droves to a nationalist or Zionist viewpoint. Ilyashevitz concedes that in the course of the pogroms, the Jews had suffered at the hands of people whom the revolutionaries had idealized. Likewise, he concedes that many revolutionaries had not behaved in a correct manner towards the Gews. Nevertheless, he argues, socialism will cure all these ills and is the only realistic solution to the Jewish problem.

Ilyashevitz' position may be characterized as a socialist assimilationist position. He expects the Jews to lose all their distinctions as a result of the socialist revolution and welcomes this prospect.

The following considerations should convince us of the fact that the Jewish masses in their entirety do not represent a capital-owning class (tools and means of production), but, on the contrary, includes a substantially indigent majority.

In 1864, plants and factories of Western Russia were divided in the following manner in accordance with the affiliations of various owners:

	Jew	Christian	Foreign
In the Vilna Guberniya	12	28	6
" " Grodno "	95	54	29
" " Mogilev "	8	41	1
" " Vitebsk "	52	157	--
" " Valonya "	216	228	22
" " Podolsk "	91	66	59
" " Kiev "	32	166	8

In order to understand the meaning of these numbers, let us take into consideration that in the Vilna Guberniya, the Jews constituted in this period 8/13 of the urban population while only 1/4 of the total number of factories was under their ownership. In the Mogilev Guberniya, the Jews constituted 6/7 of the urban population, but owned only 1/6 of the total number of factories, etc. The same applied to the southwest guberniyas Kiev, Podolski and Vulonya.

This phenomenon is explained by Zhuravsky for the Kiev Guberniya formulating its description that in the southwest Krai, the middle class, mainly Jews, has very little capital. 6/7 of the plants and factories belong to the estate owners. This explanation obviously can be expanded to cover other guberniyas.

If we look at the matter more closely then the Jewish capital in that epoch of which we are speaking, has become more concentrated. If we dont take the factory statistics in general, but evaluate by the scale of turnover, then it turns out that the number of large scale Jewish capitalists is still smaller with respect to the Jewish population.

Letus take for example the cloth factories.

	Jew	Christian	Foreigner
In the Grodno Guberniya	20	35	21
" " Mogilev "	3	0	0
" " Volonia "	12	13	21
" " Kiev "	0	5	1
" " Podolsk "	5	2	52

Here are the statistics for sugar factories in the same period

	Jew	Christian	Foreigner
In Kiev Guberniya	4	58	1
"" Volnyia "	0	5	0
" Podolsk "	2	28	0
" Mogilev "	0	3	0

A substantial portion of Jewish"manufacturing" establishments possessed the character of simple artisan production which did not require to a large part either complicated machines or hired labor. These were chiefly pi;tiful tanneries, brickworks, factories for tallow candles, soap works, creameries and tobacco plants. Often the yearly turnover of these establishments did not exceed a few hundred rubles. And it should be self understood that with the advances of industry, the small scale manufacturer would ~~hxxxxtxx~~ disappear and would have to cede its place to large scale industry which has already transpired in the present era. Thus the numbers cited should convince us of the following. *In the realm of factory production, only a most paltry number of Jewish population consists of owners of capital and it follows that ~~the resp~~ the responsibility for exploiting the worker rests only on this number.* Let us turn to another branch of Jewish occupations, namely trade. First in importance, of course, is the trade in agricultural products. An attentive study of it will lead to the view that only an insubstantial part of the Jewish population possesses the required capital for the transactions. Jensen says:"The activity of Pinsk capital spread to the buying up of a large part of Volnya and the area along the Dnieper to Yekatevinoslav itself, but this activity had no independence of its own and was totally controlled by orders for Koenigsberg, Danzig and Warsaw. Having considered Pinsk as a locus of capital and tradesmen, we do not find persons however, who control large capital sums."

In another place, Orshansky cites the following: "The living conditions in which the local Jews have been placed, propels the Jews into commerce without capital and without the indispensable business knowhow. Therefore, the role which they play is more passive than active. Since the major thread of our commerce lies in German hands, is playing so to speak according to all the commercial rules, the Jewish merchant who does not control his own capital is compelled to turn to the banking offices. Such a state of affairs can be observed everywhere. We can therefore affirm that the estate of Jewish bread traders breaks down into two parts. The paltry minority in control of all operations and the entire army of petty impoverished intermediaries, who are totally dependent economically on the former. This army consists according to various studies, of nearly 40% of the Jewish population, serves only as a sponge with the aid of which the Jewish commercial big shots suck out the fruits of the people's labor.

Responsibility lies on the structure which allows these big shots to ravage the people, and not on that indigent mob living in constant privation and ever prepared to transfer to a more just, albeit more arduous, mode of existence. An unbiased researcher of the history of the people states the following about this indigent mob: " Half, if not 3/4 of the Jewish population consists of people whom one could accuse of mercenariness and factoring, idleness and parasitism, not because these features stemmed from laziness or inaptitude for work, but because these poor wretches, thinking solely of their daily bread, vegetate from day to day and absolutely have no chance of taking up productive labor. The unfortunate bourgeoise families, possessing neither house nor home, live in filth and in indigence, not knowning, with all their inclination to work, how to make ends meet for tomorrow. And, by necessity, they flee to reprehensible means with the single purpose of satisfying their basic necessity.

Given such a surplus in a market for intermediary work, to which Mr. Zelensky indicates, we should not be surprised that already at the start of the new period in Russian life, we find a substantial percnet of Jews in the area of purely productive labor. From the research of Zelensky, it turns out that in the Minsk Guberniya, where there were 61,499 Jewish families in 1864, 40-50% of the Jewish population were artisans. One can confidently assert, adds Mr. Zelensky, that 8 out of 10 families of Jewish artisans were submerged in the most terrible poverty. Mr. Dragomanov, on the basis of the testimony of Mr. Chubinsky (works of the Ethnographic Expedition in the Sputhwest Krai, Vol. VII: I, 210) actually reaches the same conclusion for the entire southwestern Krai. It follows from the numbers cited by him that 33% of the Jewish population is regarded as a clearly productive class and 47% as clearly unproductive. But the middle categories, nearly 15%, which consists of house servants and stewards, we can, following the example of the Western European Socialists, regard as part of the proletariat, and Mr. Dragamanov partially agrees to this.

In such a manner, we derive for the Southwest Krai 48% proletariat and 47% unproductive class -- a surplus in favor of the proletariat. Such is the pic;ture of the Jewish situation at the inception of the new period of Russian history.

The chasm dividing the insubstantial class of Jewish capitalists and the ever growing class of Jewish indigents was not smoothed over by the passage of time but on the contrary, was widened and deepened still further. The intensified means of production presented by the cities attracted there a large portion of the Jewish population which had been previously scattered in villages and small towns. Concentrations of large masses of purely Jewish proletarians arose there. Who has not seen in the large coastal cities of the south, these mobs of shovelers who stand in ranks in the market, from early morning with long shovels (spades, to be exact) in expectation of the store owner who would hire them for hard labor, under the burning rays of the sun or in choking wheat silos, for the merest pittance.

How many times have these hollowed-out proletarians, driven out of their minds by the impudent exploitation of the store owner -- co-religionists raised a menacing murmur which provoked threats of the police on the part of this same representative of capital.

A picture has been engraved in my memory since childhood which repeats itself very often in one of the large cities of the south. Shovellers aremed with long spades, and fruit pickers carrying strainer-like implements resembling huge shields across the shoulder, blocked up an entire street where the major big shots, the owners of colossal heaps of wheat, gathered from all corners of Russia for sale abroad, dwelled. They wished to complain about crowding, insufficient pay, etc. A deputation from this crowd was brazenly cast out into the street. The gate keepers ran to the police, The police appeared and upon the refusal on the part of the crowd to disperse, they drew sabers and dispersed the crowd by force of arms.

But I recall a tall old man with a venerable grey beard, a richly clothed Jew, who stepped out from the besieged house and egged on the police against the Jewish crowd. An unimaginable noise arose with the appearance of this venerable Jew. Rocks began to fly from the crowd. Repelled from the gate of his own home, and covered by ten policemen, brandishing their unsheathed swords, this old exploiter retreated into the street in terror under the hail of stones and curses of the Jewish mob. ¶The statistics of the Jewish proletariat, that is the population deprived of all tools of production and living as hired help, would provide eloquent and unexpected numbers. Unfortunately, this material does not lie in my possession and I only know that after the pogroms when they gathered statistical material on this subject in the cities, they were struck by the unexpectedness of the results. But this proletariat does not populate solely the city. The countryside, the villages and the small towns are overfilled with them and during the time of summer work, the estate owners of the western guberniyas discovered in them not a meagre source of cheap working labor. In this direction, it would also be possible to gather eloquent material. We can conclude therefore our summary of the economic situation of the Jews with the following conclusions: Some time ago, the Jews in general, thanks to the governmental structure, were an unconditionally harmful element to the working population. But life has transformed nearly half of the Jewish population into a proletariat, which finds itself now already in identical conditions vis-a-vis the exploiting government and the predatory groups, as the mass of the Russian population in general. The other half of the Jewish tribe lives as parasites off the working population but is exploited only by the present structure ~~of~~ for its monopolistic predatory activity and is doomed in later life to gradually being transformed into the proletariat. Only the most unconscionable people can hurl upon the Russian Jews the accusation of indiscriminate parasitism and exploitation. For a socialist, such an accusation is simply criminal. But if in the eyes of the social activist, who is working for the good of the people, responsibility for the abnormal situation of the Jews in Russian society rests, obviously not upon the indigence of the majority of Russian Jews but on the structure of the Russian government and society, that is on some more *general* and more authoritative facts. Unfortunately, it is impermissable to say that this is obvious also to the working masses. For the public activist, that which is primarily and chiefly guilty and guarantor of that evil which he is trying to uproot, is responsible. Therefore, the logic of his activity compels him to concentrate his blows against a general fact but the masses, the victims of the structure, must *inevitably* fall upon partial facts in their protest, and upon those who oppress them directly. And only by the practice of protest, and by its acquaintanceship with elements of resistance and cooperation, with conscious activists, can ~~it~~ they reach a synmthesis of the hostile structure and an understanding of the hierarch~~al~~ical dependence of partial facts upon the general ones, and finally to transpose ~~its~~ their destructive activity to the latter. The period of unclarity of popular protest is difficult for the sincere public activist and mistakes are almost unavoidable. On the one hand, the existence of popular indignation is fully just. On the other hand, by its nature, it can equally become fertile soil for beneficial agitation or for ~~the~~ intrigues most dangerous to the people ~~intrigues of~~ by its most insidious enemy. The latter encourage or support the people in its destruction of the partial fact compelling him it to think that the partial fact is the general cause and in such a manner lead ~~him~~ it into a most dangerous delusion. A horrible shuffling of sympathies and antipathies is created, as a result of which an honorable public activist can sometimes temporarily have the popular ground swept from under his feet. In such periods, the responsibility to conduct a strong critique of the unconscious passions of the people is the most sacred obligation of all those who work for the good of the working masses. Not the fear of heavy sacrifices -- for which popular movement, striving to correct the results of age-old coercion, can go about this without numerous and various sacrifices? Solely the interests of the working masses enjoin the conscious activist not to be lowered to the unconscious machinations of the masses at the first manifestation of their protest, but to raise them up on high by criticism and organization. The indigent army of Jews represents a complex of doleful social conditions in our Fatherland. In a spontaneous process it is possible that the Jew should fatefully appear as the first defendant before the bar of popular indignation...but in the conscious activity of the soeical fighter, the sole enemy is the structure towards whose destruction he must summon the indignant masses of the people. In order to fill in the picture of the situation of the Jews, we must cast a glance on the state's general relation to them, that is on legislation concerning the Jews. At the basis of Russian legislation on the Jews lies the principle that the Jew is harmful for the Russian population. The decrees about them bear the nature of those points of the criminal code via which the laws and privileges of exiles deprived of all civil rights and advantages are defined. These decrees were derived as much from the tradition of the Polish government and from confessional reasons as from the coarse utilitarian considerations of the despotic Russian autocracy.

The basic right of each member of the state, the right of free arrival in all parts of government territory, was sold to the Jews for money and since the price of that law was sufficiently high being worth about one gulden, those for whom it actually would have been advisable to prohibit all migration and arrivals within the limits of Russia, in the interests of the working masses, exploited it exclusively. True, by special decrees, the right to selection of their place of domicile was extended for artisan Jews, but they enjoyed this right not as people but as artisans, by dint of the service which they carried with them; and it cost the Jewish artisan dearly to lose the capability to work at his trade. He would be left to the caprice of the administration which could cast him out as a criminal from his home of many years. The legislation calculated the types of occupations permitted to Jews and isolated them by a system of taxes, into a separate enclosed estate. The legislation betrayed the Jewish masses already unfortunate and defenseless to the caprice of a most coarse and ignorant administration, especially pitiless to the "poor Jew." An insatiable hatred to this savage structure swelled up in the breast of the Jews at the single memory of the humiliations and moral torments through which the legislation oppressed us making out/of the word "kike" the brand of a criminal which with black lettering scorched on the forehead separately us artificially from other parts of the population. Such an unjustified situation had its consequences. In masses of the working people, ;sympathies and antipathies arose on the basis of material interests, deriving their beginning to a large measure, from the basic feeling of simple and healthy equity. By their anti-social position over the course of a lengthy historical period, the Jews may have merited the hatred of working masses. This hatred could by tradition survive changed conditions of life and carry over undeservedly to the working part of the Jewish population. But in cultured strata, where eternal competition and plunder reigned, where force stood on the highest level, a relationship to this or another class of people was not defined by equity, but by a worship of success and contempt to the vanquished. By maintaining the Jews in a situation of despised pariash, Russian legislation ever yielding to the pressure of predatory Christian elements with whom a portion of the Jews competed in the areas of trade and usury, nurtured by this method within the entire cultured class, a groundless contempt for the Jews. We see that as soon as in the higher spheres of the government there obtained a spirit of tolerance towards the Jews, at the same time, the contempt for them of the cultured class, was also weakened (such was the case in the period of the sixties) but as soon as the capricious spirit began to blow in the opposite direction, the feeling of contempt was resurrected in new and more powerful forms. Here is the basis of the Russian nation's psychology in its relationship to the Jews -- the traditional hatred of the working masses and the egotistical contempt of the cultured strata.

Such a relationship falls upon the honorable Jewish youth and upon the working Jewish estate, as an unbearable moral weight. This relationship is onerous especialy in those critical moments wh en the Russian people for an entire mesh of reasons chiefly economic ones, pounces in its instinctive sweep upon its genuine enemy, upon the Jews, not discerning in its traditional hatred between just and guilty, and finds tacit or clearly expressed support, not only from the demoralized cultural strata in general but from persons who are obliged to understand reality more deeply and to consciously appraise its appearance. It is burdensome when such people forget that: 1) the predatory state, uncontrolled by the will of the people, for narrow egotistical purposes, has created and maintians the anti-social situation of the Jews; 2) *The Jews* as well as the Russian people *are broken up in the present time into two classes*- the rich Kulaks who are truly exploiters of the people and the multitudinous proletariat; 3) at the same time that *these rich Kulaks enjoy the defense of the government*, only the unfortunate Jewish proletariat appears in agony and is going mad due to the personal suffering of the people; 4) The Russian state, through a series of compulsory laws has maintained and still maintans the Jewish masses in an isolated situation, has nurtured within them in such a manner a narrow nationalist spirit, pushing them to seek alleviations from the persecution of brutish force in the realm of alluring religious myths and that thanks only to this activity of the state, has there been kindled a mutal hatred and the attack of the numerically superior Russian people upon the Jewish people has been facilitated.

In the "Jewish pogroms" the Russian state consciously fashioned the Jewish proletariat into its lightening rod to deflect popular wrath and demoralized the Russian working masses by their violence against a defenceless population. They let the people abuse freedom in order that subsequently they should have the pretext to say that they are not worthy of freedom.

They make the people jailors of the Jews since neither the inmates nor the jailors can leave the dungeon. To one the exit from the dungeon is more complicated. To the other less. This is the entire difference But both the one and the other are deprived of freedom. The present governmental structure is the preserver of that entire order which is fatal both in its economic political and psychological relationship to the Jewish population.

II DREAMS OF PALESTINE

The artificial isolation, of the political deprivation of rights and the economic helplessness all push Russian Jewry to seek an exit. The pogroms have only made the situation more ac~~tive~~ute, having unveiled reality more vividly and having accelerated the pulse of life. In normal periods Jews everywhere and always sought a solution in a change in the conditions of the surrounding neighborhood and only in periods of oppression when the normal course of life was temporarily destroyed, were normal aspirations replaced by fantastic ones. The expatriate life of the Jews has already stretched out for nearly twenty centuries. The pages of world history are filled with their persecutions. Under varying conditions of culture and civilization they served in all countries and at all times as a subject of hatred and contempt. Seeing this some inclined to the belief that Judaism was infected by some sort of incurable fate which turns every nation against it. Others believe that all peoples were infected with some incurable congenital psychosis of Judophobia, which stilled within them the voice of equity in relation to ill-fated Israel. These by their very essence were mystical and fantastic appraisals which eliminated the study -of the real conditions of changing life and finding themselves outside the conditions of time and space, do not yield to discussion. Life itself destroys them mercilessly. But sometimes they appear with such force that they screen out all real aspirations by themselves and therefore the struggle against them is rendered unavoidable. The extensiveness of the recent pogroms and their coincidence with the antisemitic movement in Austria, Germany Romania and Alergia, stimulated the arousal of these mythical theories, among us as well and the Palestinian movement has ~~apprea~~ appeared on the scene. The aspiration to ~~cass~~ cast off Europe and to re-settle in Palestine the ancient Fatherland of the Jews is not new, as is everything else that transpires under the moon. The memory of their own Fatherland could not but live on in a persecuted tribe and the stormier the reality, the more attractive were the daydreams. In a like manner, the noted Jewish poet of the 11th century, Yehuda Halevi, expressed in the following lyric form, the cherished dream of humiliated Israel:

> Zion, how can the light of the sun be pleasing to me, when
> I see in the crow's cage the flesh of your fallen heroes.
>
> Zion, culmination of beauty, rise up, shake off your slumber,
> The entire life of your friends is tied to your life
>
> To your well-being. Your well-being is the source of their
> happiness. They suffer from your devastation and bewail your destruction
>
> From the depths of slavery, they strive for thee and from the distance
> from their place, they kneel before thee. No, your loyal flock has not
>
> forgotten, dispersed, and strewn about through x mountains and hills
> It still remembers your myrtles and palms, your fields and your meadows.

With what can I compare you?
To proud Babylon? Who can compare with your prophets, your
Levite singers-- your hero rulers [2]

In the legends about the Messiah, created under different historical circumstances, there was also concentrated, as is known in very recent times, the memory of a Fatherland. But life in the course of twenty centuries has changed. Circumstances which had pushed the Jews out of Palestine, not only have not diminished in force but have become even more complicated. The character language and habits of the Jews have changed. Their life has become tightly plaited with the economic life of other peoples and that same "historical Fatherland" -- Palestine, has also undergone ~~thorugh~~ a complex history. The re-settlement of Jews in Palestine now must be considered in the light of historical and present forces and the determination i of its feasibility must be based on a vigorous analysis of history and contemporanity. But the Jeiwsh patriots who have set h the ancient legend into motion, wouldn't considser it necessary to take history into account. Accepting the feverish ~~mod~~ mood of the Jews after the pogroms as an awakening of national feeling, the unavoidable eviction of a few thousand families as a start of resettlement, they armed themselves..with pens and they opened on paper, of course, a ~~trim~~ triumphal procession to "the holy land of our forefathers."

The theory of the Palestinians as it is expounded in the brochure "Auto-emancipation"[3] of an unknown author, and the brochure of Mr. Lillienbloom "On the Rebirth of the Jewish People on the Holand of its Forefathers," consists of the following: the essence of contemporary history is the national struggle -- the struggle must take up yet a few more centuries. National fanaticism has replaced religious fanaticism. The Jews as a national alien to all European nations but living among them, in the capacity of an uninvited guest, is doomed to be the target of constant persecutions through the entire duration of this national period. More than that, they will remain a target even when the national period will be replaced by another because "the people always remained a family in which there is no place for the stranger." The Jews will always be strangers. Hence a simple conclusion. If the Jews do not wish to die, they must turn away from the surrounding life and direct their entire energy to one point: Resettlement in that land where they could live a normal life as an independent nation on their own territory. The practical side of this affair is depicted thusly by the Palestinians; by means of diplomatic negotiations and a world-wide union of influential Jews. They would for cash obtain Palestine where the Jews will also find all the conditions for the normal life of an indpendent nation. Simple and clear. The internal impotence of this theory as I have already stated, is exposed by life itself. I turn the attention of the reader only to the main features of its bankruptcy. The essence of the contemporary history is not the national but the class struggle. From the variegated kaleidescope of medieval forms, one basic division of each nation into a non-multitudinous bourgeoise and a multitudinous proletariat, is being careved out in ever greater relief. Patriotism and national aspirations are atrophying firstly by the greedy pursuit of profit and secondly by the terrible necessity to organize a unified struggle against the contemporary capitalist structure. Contemporary governments, these heads of nations, in whose activity short-sighted infants see the entire content of contemporary history, have degenerated into tools and over a diminishing stratum of small owners, the devouring of whose estate constitutes yet another object of world-wide specualtion. Is it possible to dispute that contemporary history has gone and is going in this direction. And so, the tendency of contemporary ruling classes, to establish international plunder, destroys national distinctions. Included in these financial rulers of whom Mr. Lavrov speaks, there are not a few Jews. And these are no longer "strangers" among the nations. With regards to the tendency of the working proletariat, it too excludes all national distinctions in its aspiration to realize *worker socialism.* "The struggle against the cosmopolitan domination of capital demands an intenrational union of workers. The interests of the workers are identically constrained by exploiters of all races and by governments of all political forms. They are really in solidarity even before the moral requirements, for working class solidarity has arisen. The indigent proletariat was everywhere reduced to a minimal satisfaction of its vital necessities so as to eliminate all cultural distinctions. The difference between working proletarians of all nations, languages and races became as a result of their common penury, less significant then the difference between the working proletariat and their well-off fellow tribesmen and compatriots. After we have spoken of the situation of the Russian Jews, it is impossible to deny that a substantial portion of them has entered into the ranks of the proletariat and pursuantly has and should have its place among the struggling peoples. They are not aliens by the very essence of things. The affectations brought out by the survival of old forms of life are degenerating under the influence of the class struggle, and pursuantly in a historical perspective, have to be placed in the background. The theory of the Palestinians,[5] deprived that means of the main basis of its main support, its prophecy is but empty words. Paraphrasing the word of La Salle,[4] it is poissible to say that any jpolitical theory that ignores the development of worker socialism and the class struggle, is either ignorance or charlatanism. The Palestinian theory merits one of these appellations. The practical side of the Palestinian theory is no less deprived of a solid basis. What is Palestine? A country which belongs to the Turkish Empire and is populated by Arabs. Let us concede that our financial rulers will construct a few luxuriant harems for the Turkish sultan and will purchase from him "our historical Fatherland." But what should be done with the Arabs? Will the Jews agree to be strangers among the Arabs or do they wish to make the Arabs strangers among them? The Palestinians are not disturbed by this. The author of the brochure "On the Rebirth of the Jewish People" says, if it is true, as well that the Palestinian Arabs, as many tell, are convinced that Palestine belongs to the Jewish people, and do not lay the foundations to their buildings and do not bury their dead without the presence of a Jew, via whose person the entire Jewish nation symbolically concedes to him, the Arab, the portion of land occupied by him, then in this view of the Holy Land, by the local population, we possess the best guarantee for our future. Many people tell and maybe these many people invent what they tell, or maybe they tell the fancy of somebody else, has the gossip of old grandmothers already become historical argument? But if the existence of this habit is a fact, then it still proves absolutely nothing. Habits, often survive the real content of life and serves solely as a monoment to relationships which have long disappeared.

We have, says Mr. Lillienbloom, an historical right to Palestine which has not been destroyed for us with the loss of independence, as the fate of the Balkan Peninsula attests to.[5] Historical rights! And with what will you defend your right? With tears? With gold, and yes, with charters of nobility. But the Balkan Peninsula did not shed tears but blood. Why do you take such an unsuitable comparison? The Arabs have that same historical right and it could be to your misfortune should you stand under the protection of the international plunderers, who avail themselves of the intrigues and machinations of debauched diplomacy, you will force the peaceful Arabs to defend *their* rights. They will answer: your tears with blood, they will bury your noble charters with the ashes of your dwellings.

On what part of the Jewish population do our Palestinians count on? They straight away point to our bourgeoise as a corrupted environment where the "pogroms" aside from "Jewish dread" have provoked a still base, fawning before the brazen government. They are counting upon the Jewish proletariat. Mr. Lillienbbom draws a staggering picture of the poverty of this part of the population but he himself admits that it lacks those patriotic features with which one can leaven the Palestinian movement. "Friends and enemies point out to us the land of our fathers, but we don't even wish to hear of it. We are all opposed to the idea of our rebirth and prefer the pitiful situation of despised strangers to the normal life of free native inhabitants." But it is impossible to artificially insert the fire of patriotism into the breast of the people. A program can unite and organize the real aspirations of life but it cannot create them. The Palestinians actually desire to create life with their program. No, in vain do you draw for the unfortuante Jewish proletariat the picture of their poverty. Not only do you not reveal to them the true reasons of their poverty, but you do not suggest to them any real means for eliminating it. You simply inflame their imagination and distract them from real work. That is to say, the surplus of Jewish population in the Jewish pale of settlement, is really seeking the path of colonization. They will go to Palestine with the same readiness for which they would set off for distant Catholic Chile, where they would at least be guaranteed a crust of bread. One can rejoice over thefact that outside of Russia, some ample Jewish agricultural colonies are being formed which, as in the case of the Irish immigrants, can help their fellow countrymen in Russia wage a genuine struggle against general conditions, hindering all Jews rivetted by circumstances to Russia, from beginning to live a decent human existence. But to point to this colonization of a few thousand families as the way out for a population three million large, to distract the attentinn of the latter by this from the real struggle in its surroundings, and to isolate the already isolated masses of Jews from the Russian masses, would be to multiply the sufferings of the Jews in a difficult transition period and subject them to new and superfluous dangers.

III. HOPES PLACED UPON THE GOVERNMENT

That the government was the force upon which the situation of the Jews depended, is attested to by the entire history of their arrival in Russia. It is not surprising therefore, that the Russian Jews are accustomed to await a change in their situation from the government. Since in Russia until these times, there weren't and there are not presently organized social groups who could, through lawful order, influence the will of the government; the Jews were forced to take account of the capricious influences and the moods of courtiers in whose hands power rested . . temporarily. By force of this, a theory was worked out and in conjunction with this genuine aspirations, namely that the essence of the Jewish problem in Russia consisted of their legal juridical situation and that their equality before the law was that talisman which would remove from them the entire burden of their situation. [illegible] Considered in this manner, the interests of all Russian Jews as something indivisible, the representatives of that orientation, employed all their efforts so to . influence the will of the legislator by means of bribery and supplication. We will not dwell in length upon the former. As regards to the latter, the entire literature of that current which had the goal of influencing the will of the legislator through public opinion, can serve as the best illustration. This orientation fills almost all of Jewish literature. This proves through all manners of repetition that Jews are the same as everybody else. They are also . ardently loyal and they likewise serve the fatherland by nature and with capital. The identical goal is opening up the charmed gate of Russian common law to the unfortunate Jews. The authors prostrate themselves servilely before the authorities they wallow in the dust and kiss the footsteps of authority and they pray for equality.

What part of the Jewish population is *really* interested in this entreaty for equality? Authority looks upon the Jews from a strictly utilitarian point of view. At its very foundation, it tramples upon the basic human and civil rights of its people and therefore it is not about to change itself for the sake of a few million contemptible pariash. It will loosen the fetters only in a situation when it envisions a direct material profit for itself. First to maintain a huge army, police and court establishment, it is in constant need of credit and dependent in financial considerations, this nerve of politics upon the rulers of the exchanges, the Russian government is forced to cling by its teeth to those elements of the contemporary structure which can guarantee it a kopek on a stormy day. The mercies of the authorities therefore exist solely for the most shameful portion of the Jewish population. In olden times, the tax farmers took advantage of them and in the present times the contractors and railway builders take advantage of them. Only for this portion, however, is this equality necessary and sanctioned by duress. The proletariat without land and without a rational organization of production, does not require a legal, that is, fictitious equality. Reality has implacably exposed this basic conflict of interest of the Jewish masses and that part of Jewry which seeks legal equality, and rights. In critical moments, the phrase effaces itself before the stormy progress of evetns and the truth emerges. When the Jewish pogroms began, terror seized the Jewish bourgeoise. Did it unite in a brotherly union of self-defense and self-help with the unfortunate proletariat upon whose baks fell the enraged spree of fisticuffs of an enraged people? No! It displayed the most savage egoism, visiting the Russian government at the time when the beated and violated Jewish proletariat wove its way to the ocean in order to find a series of new sufferings beyond it. In panic, they called for government terror against the broken drunken peasants whom they were accustomed in their narrow calculations to consider silent and obtuse humanoids, subject to exploitation. They demanded from the Jewish masses submissiveness and immobility and reliance upon the government, When those masses finally began to understand that only their own initiative could save them. Fearing to incense the government, when that mob began to move, they denied material assistance to the hungry fugitives, who would have all died of starvation save for the fact that some paltry assistance appeared from foreign committees. And the bourgeoise was right and the liberals-mouthpieces of these interests were right. The bayonets of the government defended their persons and their property. What more could they ask? When the Russian mass would be smothered, it would be possible again to begin preaching equality and beg for piecemeal government handouts. Hypocrites!

Once upon a time, all nourished illusions. After the liberation of the peasants, only a few were endowed with the perspicacity of Tchernishevsky[6] to see a social revolution in embryo in the property relations established by this government act. The majority, including many wise and sincere people of the type of E. Oranshansky, retained the opinion that the government, by the road of reform, would satisfy all real progressive demands and therefore the responsibility of the intelligentsia should manifest itself in support of the government in its wide ranging reformist plans. But the calculations of these well-intentioned people was false. The government proceeded with the liberation of the peasants because its machine had cracked in the conflict with bourgeois England and France and required repair. Having encountered in society not a single organized group which was capable of seizing the government mechanism into its hands, it took advantage of this lack of coordination and powerlessness and patched up the old mechanism with a few props, maintaining basically, the former spirit and the former construction. It remained the sole political actor on the scene. True it forfeited gradually all its vital elements, but remained sufficiently strong to paralyze the attempts of liberals among the people to transform words into living fact. After a few noisy liberal years, autocracy today returned to its accustomed river bed thrusting the sincere part of the liberals back into the ranks of radicalism either actively or passively, and dragging along behind it the demoralized element of liberalism into its stagnant swamp. Here in this swamp, our Jewish liberals still sit and await handouts from the government. The don't have the illusions of the sixties before them. They are at the tail of a heartless government which in its throes, receives rich gifts from them with one hand and with the other directs hatred upon the Jewish proletariat in order to disperse at least for a short time, the threat which is gathering against them. Life has exposed the flabbiness and impotence of the liberal current. When

When a few years ago, the Loris-Melikov[7] interval ensued and many rosey hopes of ribh liberals flourished; then incidentally, the evil day for the Jewish proletariat came to pass. They were planning an unprecedented thing allotting of land to Jews. The liberal press became suddenly the organ of strictly popular demands and what of it? In return for a seemingly presentable gift, the construction of important student dormitories, the Jewish bourgeoise received from the government permission to establish an agricultural fund, assigned not to the purchase of land and tolls -- no! but to the construction of preparatory schools for instructing Jews in agriculture. The Jewish proletariat was animated, Its eyes yearned to the extensive strips of government soil. Here, astride the uninhabited land, which Orshansky had indicated as suitable territory for rational Jewish colonization -- there was no talk of then, that wasn't so long ago, about fatherlands overseas. Everyone was satisfied with Russia as a fatherland, and with hope they turned their eyes to the government, which alas the multitude for a long time will confuse with the fatherland.... regarded the liberal patrons trustingly, although it seems strange to the proletariat that they were gathering funds to build schools and not colonies. For need would be the best school and the plow and the land would be its best teachers. And what became of it? A year didn't pass by when they stopped talking about the fund. Cowardly and submerged in their own egotistical interests, the rich liberals didn't think of energetically demanding something for the proletariat -- whcreas, the government, dividing up the land of its people into plunder for its favorites, likewise didn't think of satisfying the urgent needs of the Jewish proletariat. The fund turned out to be a game, seemingly devised on purpose to graphically indicate the total conflict of interests between the Jewish liberals and the Jewish proletariat and finally to inspire in the latter repugnance for all legal roads. The Palestinians with their fantastic plans, although these proceeded from the need of the proletariat, stood outside the conditions of real life, the liberals from their narrow egotistic interests, although they acted under conditions of real life, had nothing in common with the proletariat. In actuality, the liberals are the same enemies of the Jewish masses as the Novaya Vyyremya group. Just as hypocritically as the latter attacked the exploiter Jews, so the former hypocritically defend them. Some are dressed in Knight's armor, others in the skins of oppressed sheep, but tear their clothes off, you will see wolves under them, who, because of their privileges, gnaw at national property and ravage it together with the government. Therefore the Jewish proletariat is decisively forced to seek an exit from another direction side, namely via revolution.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION

In the murky cellar of the medieval structure, Jews vegetated for ages in contempt and ignorance. The first resuscitating ray of sunlight penetrated together with the thunder of the first great French Revolution. The promulgation of human rights summoned the Jews into the fresh air of civil life in equality with all citizens of the First Republic.

The wave of revolution spilling over the European countries produced the break-up of the old institutions everywhere where the ground was prepared, where new bourgeoise relations were more broadly based than the feudal forms. The Jews widely took advantage of this turnabout and hurried to live a human existence. The inner stagnation of their secluded life yielded its place to the new flow of European thought. Religious fanaticism yielded its place to critical investigation. Judaism ceased to stubbornly vindicate its existence as a strata of stupid written ceremonies with ;which it, like manure, protected itself form the pressures of Catholicism. It began to go back to its basic principles (Mendelsohn). -- in order by this path to slowly, gradually and finally open itself to world philosophy and general human morality. In a word, once the fetters that bound the Jews as a separate caste were broken, their narrow obscurantism dispersed and the Jews became ordinary people. The rays of a ascending revolution were resucitating, that even prior to the thunders of the triumphant revolution, before the 4th of August, before the 14th of July, they, with a feeble light, illuminated the most distant horizons. Liberalism forced its way to the throne of Catherine and cast from there the pale light of daybreak upon the entire melancholy state of Russian actuality. The play of the rays on the ascending sun were reflected also upon Russian Jews and for them it was as if better days had arrived. But soon, Russian life submerged itself in a still thicker gloom and the situation of the Jews remained as before.

Revolutionary thought touched also the advanced Russian intelligentsia, the passionate heads of the noble Decembrists[1] fell under the blows of autocracy but they transmitted to the following generation their tradition of hatred to it. In the West, on the soil of the great revolution, the bourgeoise structure grew. Supporting itself with both feet on a politically free but economically enslaved proletariat, having attained unaccustomed strength thanks to a puissant development of inudstry the bourgeoise structure sought elbow room for industrial competition and in its interests attacked backward Byzantine Russia. It opened a breach in the Russian wall and provoked a new movement in Russia. The autocracy after the Crimean war saw its impotence. The old form of serfdom did not afford it the opportunity to combat bourgeois Europe. If then in Russia there had existed some form of organized political force, time would have run out on the autocracy. But the forces of Russia were dispersed, disunited and the autocracy encountered in its vicinity an unaccustomness to independent political life. It decided to embark upon the road of illusionary progress, which flowed from its own initiative. A study of the bourgeois structure, suggested to it the possibility of maintaining the existence of the old order, making only a few external changes. The act of freeing the peasants from the dependence of serfdom and a series of reforms connected with it, appeared as a result.

However insignificant the government actions were in their very essence for the interests of the people, nevertheless even this microscopic dose of truly liberal elements which entered into the reforms of the government sufficed so they would be reflected in a favorable manner in the fate of Russian Jews. Within them there took place a shattering of old habits and all stretched forth to the clean air of a new fresh life. Every bit of progress in the sourrounding life is automatically and favorably reflected in the fate of Jewry.

The Russian government freed the farmer with an insufficient allotment of land, and attempted artificially to create heavy industry in order to occupy hands freed from agriculture and to guarantee for industry a supply of cheap labor. The government was constrained into this policy by its position among the bourgeois states as competition with them was not possible without a rise in material wealth. But such a policy was not only anti-popular, but was simply impossible. To artificially create a skilled and active bourgeoise turned out to be beyond the competence of the Russian knout and the whole policy of the government reduced itself to the financial and economic ravaging of the country. that is to preparation for its own demise. Only a small groupescule of creditors who were despoiling the country together with the government could be in solidarity with such a policy orientation of the latter. The people became aroused when they saw that the land to which it had been merged by all their traditions, became the object of speculation and was slipping away from their hands. The advanced intelligentsia, enlightened by the entire experience of revolutionary life in Europe began to formulate the requirement of the people and appeared on the scene in the capacity of a political force, disputing power with the autocracy in the name of popular interests, and for the sake of popular interests. The result of the experience in revolutionary Europe consisted in that the organized working masses serve as a basis of the real liberation of the people who strive primarily for economic liberation, and that the destruction of existing ruling organizations, the organ of the exploiting classes and the seizure of the political mechanism by the working classes, serves as a means to-ards this. The result of the experience of revolutionary Europe also posits that any real improvement in the life of any part of the proletariat is not possible without this transformation. More than that, the si[illegible] remnant of the great revolution -- personal liberty, becomes problematical as long as power remains in the hands of the privileged estate. The latter will bestow dictatorship on the first bandit as soon as the ocean of working hands begin to agitate and seeks a way out of its situation. *The single organized force which stands as a hindrance on the road of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia towards its goal, the political and economic liberation of the people is the Russian government)* (italics, the author). But this same force also stubbornly maintains the Jewish population in its difficult position. For the Russian government, the conflict of interests between seprate parts of the population, constitutes a necessity of life. The same government, for its salvation, is quite prepared to surrender the Jewish masses as a sacrificial victim to popular wrath in order to save itself even briefly. From this same government. The liberal Jewish bourgeoise solicit handouts for themselves in order to better fleece both its own and another people, making the name of the Jew even more unbearable. In a word, the same government against which the Russian revolutionaries are struggling, is the historical enemy also of the Jews. Is it necessary to say that the interests of the Jewish proletariat are in solidarity with the interests of the revolution? What do the Jewish proletariat and the Jewish intelligentsia devoted to it, desire? They desire conditions of free development on the bases of labor and equality. Is it possible, in a structure which negates personal liberty and doesn't guarantee the work and necessary capital and which destroys the feeling of equality and support of competition? No, the Russian government would have to renounce its most basic foundations in order to implement such conditions for the Jewish masses. Pursuantly, the masses can in no shape or manner, await aid from the government. But outside the government there is one real force, that is, the popular revolution which is striving to implement those same conditions, which the Jewish masses particularly desire, for the entire Russian people. From here it is clear to the point of obviousness, the solidarity between the interests of the Jewish proletariat and the interests of the Russian revolution. Only the Russian revolution can give to the Jews civil rights which will make them equal in civic relations with all other elements of Russian population in general. Only it can give to the rural Jewish population the capability for agricultural work, land, and this moreover in such quantity and under such conditions that it will in no wise produce exploitation or develop into a source of hostile clashes with the indigineous farmers. Only it can guarantee to the impoverished mass of urban Jews, all the conditions for a reasonable human existence, reasonable human life and a correct socialist organization of industrial production. The Russian revolution, as the embodiment of true progressive aspirations of society, carries within it all the conditions for the salvation of the Jews. Such a situation of things, leads to an inescapable consequence for the Jewish proletariat and to the Jewish intelligentsia, which is devoted to its interests. If we do not wish to remain apathetic spectators in that struggle upon which our happiness depends, if we do not wish to buy at the price of the suffering of others, our own well-being, we have to take an active role in the revolutionary struggle. In this struggle, we perhaps for the first time, in the course of the entire long period since our arrival in Europe will reveal independence in the quest of something better. Up to this time, we cravenly awaited something better from outside forces, and we never suspected that we not only had a right to a better future, but an obligation also to obtain it. In our eternal political indifference, the idea that we could impose our will on a hostile structure, seemed alien to us. The conscious part of the Jewish intelligentsia does not, of course, merit the reproach of being apathetic to the surrounding struggle. Among the masses names which every sincere revolutionary preserves with great esteem in the depths of his soul, you will encounter also Jewish names. But did not the very revoluionary Jewish youth ignore, mind you, the Jewish proletariat? Did it not leave to the caprice of fate, a large portion of the suffering masses within which, however, due to historical reasons, only the Jewish intelligentsia could instill the spirit of organization and struggle? Is there not, therefore, a special obligation upon the Jewish intelligentsia to take up the organization of the Jewish proletariat? and to join it to the general revolutionary stream and perhaps, through ~~it, itself~~ this, to strengthen the revoluionary movement in Russia itself? I think that the present moment is the most suitable for the rapprochement of the Jewish intelligentsia with the Jewish proletariat. The pogroms have awakened hitherto hidden feelings and have made youth more sensitive to the suffeirngs of its people and the people more receptive to revolutionary ideas. Let this serve as a basis for the independent activity of the Jewish masses. Let the wave of revolutionary propaganda sweep through the entire space where the Jewish poor dwell and let the call summoning the Jewish proletariat as well to a combattive organization resound. Let the party of the Narodna Navoye Volya unite and direct to common goals, the activity of this new revolutionary element which for its part can render the movement a substantial service. In this revolutionary activity, among their own people, possessing a strong subordinate tie with the general progress of the Russian revolution, the Jeiwsh revolutionaries will find both an outlet for their forces which demands fruitful activity in the interests of the revolution and the satisfaction of their patriotic feeling which did not permit them to remain deaf to the sufferings of their people. Outside this activity, there is no useful service for the interests of the Jewish proletarit. Let the jews not be bewildered by the hostile manifestations of the Russian mob. National affectations can maintain power only in a period of suppression. But in the moment of revolution the upsurge of generosity of humanity will reach such heights that the age-old and narrow egotistical feelings will be washed away and will give place to fraternal solidarity of all workers for the common good. Let the hostile attitude of a certain part of our intelligentsia not bewilder them. In the ranks of the revolution there is no place to narrow national prejudice. And there should not be those "people who permit themselves to curse indiscriminately 'Germans, Kikes,' and negate by this the possibility of serious workers' movement among this or that nationality and this or that race, and display by this that they have not attained a most elementary understanding of the workers' problem. People who have proceeded such a short distance towards an understanding of the basic conditions of working socialism, are merely uttering their insufficient preparation for the cause of social revolution. When they cannot conquer their internal sympathies and antipathies, inherited from the state competition of nations and races. these people can be extremely dangerous to their comrades at the time of revolution--when the restraint of assimilated habits and attractions will become more and more difficult."

We will not be bewildered by the apparent contradictions of life and will stubbofnly pursue the task of the destruction of the contemporary government structure and the creation of a new and better structure.

Footnotes

[1] Dragomanov was a Ukrainian nationalist revolutionary, who felt that the Jews who deserved what they got in the pogroms, sincethey held themselves aloof from the Ukrainian peasant population. Ilyashevitz, is thus buttressing his arguments by roping in a known critic of the Jews.

[2] The quotations, paraphrases would be more accurate, is taken from Halevi's.
ציון אל תשאלי לשלום אסיריך
-- Zion, are you not Concerned About the Welfare o f your Prisoners? It is obvious from the misquotation that the author was acquainted with Halevi only second hand.

[3] The brochure, Autoemancipation, was authored by Leon Pinsker and spurred on both the Zionist and territorialist movement. Lillienblum was the founder of the "Chibat Zion" movement. Pinsker was a communal worker in Odessa, who was once an assimilationist, but the experience of the pogroms revealed to him the physical slavery of the Jews of Russia and he was equally disillusioned by what he viewed as the spiritual impoverishment of Westnrn European Jewry.

[4] Peter L. Lavrov, (1823-1900), was an important Narodnik thinker . Lavrov stressed "however small the progress of mankind, whatever there is, rests exclusively on critically thinking individuals -- without them, it is unconditionally impossible." The author of our document, in his stress on the activist who will lead the mass of the people, is echoing the concept of Lavrov.

[6] Nikolai G. Tchernishevsky was a brilliant Russian journalist (1828-1889). He did not idealize the peasants and the Russian commune which set him apart from other revolutickary reformers and he prophesied the transition from the peasant commune through Hegelian dialectic to the ultimate synthesis of advanced Communism.

[5] The author is referring to the revolt against the Ottoman Empire of such countries as Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia and Serbia.

[7] Lorris Melikov was Minister of the Interior in 1880. Melikov was regarded as a liberal because he wished to widen the input of the government's decision making by allowing elected bodies to submit proposals for the consid-eration of the Czar and his council.

[8] NovayX-Bremya was the Moscow organ of the most reactionary elements and most anti-Semitic elements of the Czarist government. One of their more famous or infamous pieces of journalism was in rephrasing the Hamlet question: to beat or not to beat the Jews.

[9] The Decembrists were a group of officers headed by Paul Pestel, who revolted against Czar Nicholas I in 1821. The officers who had served in the wars against Napoleon in Western Europe, realized how backward their country was, by comparison with the Western European countries. The revolt was a failure and the five major leaders were hanged.

[10] LaSalle was a Prussian socialist leader of Jewish origin and an ideological opponent of Karl Marx.

Russkiy Yevrey, No. 32, 1882

This Conference of Jewish community leaders in Russia took place as two ominous events loomed in the background. One was the Balta pogrom. Balta was a predominantly Jewish town in Podolia. The Jewish population was three times as large as that of the Christian one. ON the second day of the Russian Easter, March 29th, the pogrom began and the police instead of driving off the rioters, began to beat the Jews with their rufle butts and swords. On March 30th, the head of the district police summoned about 5,000 peasnats, armed with cluns, to continue the pogrom. There was an attempt by both the Greek Orthodox bishop and the local military batallion to quell the disturbances, but their efforts were nullified when the Police Commissioner and the military chief arrived upon the scene and ordered the military to withdraw its cordon around the rioters. Implicated in the affair were the police commissioner, the military commander, the burgomaster, and the president of the nobility.

In January 1882, Dr. Orshanski approached Count Ignatiev concerning the Jewish future. Ignatiev issued his famous statement "The Western frontier is open for the Jews. The Jews have already taken ample advantage of this right and their emigration has in no way been hampered. " This statement appeared in the supplement to Rassvyet.

The Confernece convened after Balta and after Ignatiev had in effect invited the Jews to leave Russia. While the Conference was dominated by the St. Petersberg establishement, the bitterness still emerged. We witness in this document the classic confrontation between the Jewish establishment personified by the railroad magnet , S. S. Poliakoff, willing to abet the scheme of resettlement in Central Asia and personnages such as the noted oculist, Professor Mandelstam of Kiev, who was closer to the ravaged people. The Hebrew quotation of Professor Bakst is taken from Hosea 14: 10 which is the portion read by Jews on the Sabbath preceding Yom Kippur.

Deliberations of the Conference of Representatives of the Jewish communities which took place April 1882 in St. Petersburg. Session of the 9th of April. Baron Horatio Ossipovitch Ginsberg chiarman. Members of the Conference attending: F. L. Eisenstein, N. E. Bakst, E. L. Balabanov, Ye B. Bank, M. O. Berlin, Ya N. Brook, A, M. Warshavsky, Ya. M. Galitzer, B. M. Ginsberg, G. K. Gurevitch, I. Ya Gurevitch, A. N. Drabkin, V. Kagan, A. A. Kaufman, E. E. Kaufman, Z. Ya Landau, O. L. Luntz, Ch. Luria, B.V. Manischewitz, E. Ch. Mandelstam, S. S. Poliakoff, G. M. Rabinowitz, V. A. Rappaport, E. E. Ratner, L. M. Rosenthal, E. D. Rotenberg, A. R. Rubinstein, N. E. Segal, Rabbi Spector (Rabbi Yitchak Elchanan) L. P. Friedland, M. P. Friedland, G. V. Shapiro, A. F. Shmerling, M. M. Spoliansky, O. N. Steinberg, G. E. Erenburg.

The meeting was opnned at 1:50 in the afternoon. During the reading of the minutes of the previous session, arguments arose on the general issue of compiling minutes for the conference's session.

N. E. Bakst: In view of the impossibility of establishing the final text of the minutes in a multitudinous gathering, suggested that the editing of the minutes be left to a few persons chosen for this purpose out of the members of the meeting. After a short debate. the gathering found it useful to clarify what would be an appropriate orientation for the commission in working out the separzte points of the program of the conference and thereupon proceeded to the discussion of the programs by the various points. First point: Reasons for the present emigration movement of the Jews in Russia.

E. E. Kaufman: made clear that there existed only one main cause for emigration -- the pogroms. All the remaining reasons stemmed from them.

B. V. Manischewitz: added yet another primary reason -- the administration had not taken the necessary measures.

N. E. Bakst: did not agree with E. E. Kaufman. In his opinion, the principal cause of the present emigration movement of the Jews was the inequality of the Jews before the law. This inequality of the Jews before the law chiefly contributed to the pogroms and was the most immediate grounds for the emigration movement as well. Each stratum of the population within the state can experience misfortune, but from this it doesn't follow that a stratum of the population which has encountered misfortune will immediately proceed to emigrate from the fatherland. It will proceed to emigrate from the fatherland, if it sees that the misfortune that occurred to it is the direct consequence of laws which are operating in relation to it. Thus, devastated Balta yielded to eviction but did the Serpuchovians begin to move under similar circumstances? Of course not. In such a manner, the exile of the Jews caused chiefly by the fact that the pogroms stemmed directly from the exceptional legal situation of the Jews. And furthermore, from the administration's relation to the pogroms, which straightforwardly revealed that the Jews in Russia stood somehow outside any laws.

Ya N. Brook: saw the main reason of the emigration movement in the famous supplement to issue # 3 of the paper Rassvyet.

E. E. Kaufman: made clear that he was in full agreement with the views of N. E. Bakst. He would say the same thing if it wasn't for the narrow limits of the program. Now he considers it necessary to add that he does not consider the pogroms a chance occurrence, nor as a manifestation of little importance. The pogroms had assumed such dimensions and such a character that under present conditions, we possess at no time and no place any safeguards against them.

E. D. Rotenberg: likewise saw the pogroms as caused by the Jews being inferior to others in the eyes of the law.

The Chairman: directed attention to the circumstances that only where the Jews undertook measures of self-defense, as for example in Berdichev, there were no pogroms.

N. Ye Siegel: Considered the supplement to the # 3 issue of the paper Rassyvet of huge significance in the sense that Baron Ignatiev had expressed his view of the Jewish situation in the state completely frankly. The outraged Jews saw themselves rejected by the land of their birth, and hence the strong ferment, and the view that there is nothing for the Jews to expect and that it is necessary for them to run away from Russia.

M. M. Spoliansky: was in accord with the view of N. E. Bakst and Ya N. Brook on the causes of the pogroms and on the relationship of the administration to these events -- a relationship which was expressed by, among other things, their transfer of authority over the disorders to justices of the peace.

G. M. Rabinowitz: found the entire Conference's concentration on a few pogroms illogical in a strict sense. When we point out the pogroms, to the proper authorities, they tell us that for their prevention it is necessary to evict the Jews from the farms and villages. Meanwhile, this contemplated eviction is the real pogrom. It would be very well, if a clarification of the true causes of the disorders led to the rescinding of the old limitations. But since this can hardly be hoped for, it is necessary at the least, to consider the forestalling of new constraining measures.

B. V. Manischewitz: observed that the idea of emigration in reality is not new. That from Poland and Zhmuda many have already resettled in America. However hitherto, no mass emigration ensued because the natural love for the motherland, restrained even artisans for whom there awaited definite profits abroad. Only now, when we suddenly see ourselves completely defenseless, outside the protection of the law, when those from whom we sought defense, have given us up for lost, have the mass movements begun. (There have been weeks in which up to 50 families moved on through Kovno). But this is not migration, but a masqueraded banishment which in many respects is worse than the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. And now, there is a further decree on Jewish pharmacists, on soldiers' families and so on. In a word, it has reached the point that publicists who have maintained beforehand the strictest neutrality, have now finally found it necessary to say an energetic word in our behalf. Our duty before those whom we represent here, demands that we should turn to the proper authorities which direct announcements. Either chase us out, pure and simple, or give us the possibility to live.

Ch. Luria: agreeing with Ya. N. Brook, found that the emigration movement among the Jews had been aroused artificially. In Vitebsk, for example, they shout about emigration, but it is not those who have suffered from the pogroms or fear them, but those who foresee in this emigration personal profits, whatever they may be, or are interested in the resettlement of Jews in Palestine. There are a few of these people , but we should not concentrate our major attention upon them for with shouts of emigration it is manifest that we will frighten no one.

B. M. Ginsberg: observed it is impossible to deny that a certain share of influence upon the pogroms was exerted by those spheres from whom we should have expected support. For it is not totally accidental that rumors of new restrictive measures were placed into circulation just before Easter, when the masses are in any case in an habitually excited state.

Ya N. Brook observed: that he viewed as extremely harmful the supplement to # 3 of Rossvyet, in the pernicious effect which it had on trade and on mental conditions. They already looked upon Jews as upon aliens, as those who are ready to embark and even the Jews themselves have lost all their energy.

Ye B. Bank: suggested to the gathering a study of reasons for the emigration movement. He suggested to the gathering to transmit the study of the reasons for the emigration movement and their relative importance to the Commission. After a discussion of this question in the Commission, it would be left for the gathering to have its final say.

M. M. Shpolansky: rejected the influence attributed to the supplement of issue # 3 of the paper Rassvyet. He found no resemblance between the present emigration movement and that which existed until the pogroms. In general, no voluntary movement could be put on an equal footing with the flight of the Jews, due to harsh necessity.

O. L. Luntz: perceived the emigration as a protest against the inequality of Jews and those who migrated included those who did not suffer from the pogroms. He agreed with Ye B. Bank regarding the submission of the first point of the program to the Commission. Resolved: the first point of the program should be transferred to the Commisssion. Recess for half an hour.

At the opening of the session, A. M. Drabkin related the following about his meeting on that day with the Minister of Internal Affairs. The Minister instructed A. M. Drabkin to relay to the members of the meeting that they could convene without obstacle. At the close of the Conference, they were to present their conclusions to him. After that he turned to A. N. Drabkin with the question what is to be done. A. N. Drabkin responded to this: "Your Radiance. You know what is necessary to do. Regarding the Jews, they merely beseech the Czar's word for the suppression of the disorders and desire a widening of their rights." These are common place, "the Minister burst out. "Let your co-religionists express a definition." During this meeting, the Minister attributed the Balta pogroms to mendacious rumors, and an alleged undermining of the churches by the Jews. In general, in the words of the Minister, Jews themselves are guilty of the pogroms. By joining with the Nihilists, they have stripped from the government the possibility of protecting them from violence.

A. N. Drabkin responded to this that if a few individual Jewish youths had united themselves with the Nihilist movement, that it was verily because the Jew in no way constituted an exception in the state. Consequently, they can suffer fromthe same ailments which other people inhabiting Russia are susceptible to. After this, the minister expressed the opinion that the incitement of the farmers against the Jews was based mainly on the conviction that the Jews had gotten around the law constantly, and in the courts, they were always found right. Therefore, he the minister, intended to stress unconditional legality as the basis of his activity. In conclusion, the Minister reproached the Jews for the ill-will they displayed concerning the decree on the Jewish pharmacists, whereas the Jewish pharmacists were obliged to him for the privilege granted them in view of a yearly permit for the sale of drugs. The chairman having thanked A. M. Drabkin for the revelation made by him, announced that arguments regarding this information would not be rejected. Subsequently, in accord with the suggestion of N. E. Bakst, it was resolved as follows: With the emigration movement being left to its own resources by the Jewish community and by the government, should one expect in the future a weakening or strengthening of this movement? This should be transmitted to the Commission along with the first point, for a joint discussion of the two points.

The chairman: S. S. Poliakoff wishes to share with you the results of his meeting of today with the Minister of Internal Affairs. S. S. Poliakoff in a discussion with the Minister, observed to him that the previous year's conference of the Jews, working without preliminary instructions from the government, had served no purpose and it was necessary for the present Congress to have such instructions in order to reach some sort of goal. In the opinion of S. S. Poliakoff, the Conference was powerless to search out means against the present poverty, for there existed only one means, that is, free air for Jews, in equality with everybody. About emigration, under present conditio S. S. Poliakoff expressed himself before the Minister that the incitement to emigration should be replaced by the expression "incitement to mutiny." For Russian citizens -- emigration did not exist. Once a committee for resettlement abroad will be established, the Jews, by such a measure, will be recognized as non-Russian citizens and it will be necessary for many to leave. The Minister observed upon this that it was necessary to thin out the Jewish population in the Jewish Pale of Settlement. Yes, answered S. S. Poliakoff, But only by re-settling throughout Russia. Our fatherland is spacious and the resettlement of Jews will bring mutual benefit to Russia and to the Jews and if your Radiance insists upon emigration, then I will not be a party. As a very long-standing acquaintance, I have to announce that you are taking a heavy responsibility upon yourself. Responding to this, the Minister among other things said: I permit the Congress to discuss the questions of emigration, although I am not for it. I would resettle the Jews in Tashkent and Achal Tekeh. The Jews can possibly develop trade and industry in Asia and they may serve as a counterweight to England. Please convey these views of mine to the deliberations at the Conference.

E. E. Kaufman: And what did you answer?

Solomon Solmonovitch, S S. Poliakoff: I consider this in any case a serious suggestion for everyone's fortune and am ready to help implement all serious suggestions in this sphere. I do not divide myself from the native population. Before us there are two roads: A Committee for Resettlement in America or Committees for resettlement in inner Russia. Perhaps in the Caucusus perhaps in Turkestan, but this is already a secondary question which we will discuss.

Ye. Ch. Mandelstam: We cannot stand on such grounds No one will resettle in Tashkent. Only one of two things: Either we move out or we receive rights. They trample with their feet upon our national honor. They plunder us. They violate the honor of our wives and daughters. We are not slaves. Either human rights, or we leave to wherever our eyes will gaze.

A. A. Kaufman: But will many decide upon emigration?

Ye. Ch. Mandelstam, continuing: The question is not resettlement but resettling for the time being in the depths of Asia. How can we debate such a question?

B. M. Ginsberg: Ironically. Is this question really new? Can we not perhaps really live in Tashkent?

Voices: No, No. We will live outside the Pale but not there.

The chairman advised the gathering to address the question calmly. The opinion of each person will be heard out.

Ye. Ch. Mandelstam: We don't enjoy the rights that are granted to all animals, and suddenly they permit us to go to Tashkent. Probably in order to finish us off there.

B. M. Ginsberg: For what crime?

Chairman: The information of S. S. Poliakoff is not subject to discussion for the time being the Commission will discuss it.

Ye Ch Mandelstam: It is not right to cut off our debate. The announcement of S. S. Poliakoff cannot serve us as a guiding thread.

Chairman: Everyone will have the right to suggest his own measures.

Ye. Ch Mandelstam: It is time for a regular business.

M. M. Shpoliansky: The announcement of S. S. Poliakoff has a very decisive significance. Obviously, they don't wish to do: anything for us until we settle in Central Asia. But if we have not comprehended things in such a manner, if the suggestion is actually permeated with a desire to lighten our situation, then we should say to the government that the thinning out of the population in the Pale of Settlement is desirable and we will take it into account and let everyone who wishes leave for Central Asia.

The Chairman: once again affirmed that the announcement of S. S. Polyakoff had a subsidiary significance.

Ya. M. Galitzer: Yesterday the session affirmed a program, today we receive the announcement of the government for a desired orientation of our debates, but once the program has been affirmed, we cannot depart from it, we can take the announcement into consideration, but it cannot govern us in working out our programs.

B. V. Manischewitz: The announcement of S. S. Polyakoff reproting the course of the matter is such a revolution that you cannot guide yourself by it immediately and pursuantly we should continue the debate.

The Chairman: In view of the excited mood of the members of the gathering again recalled that everyone would have the right to set forth his opinons.

S. S. Polyakoff: added that he decidedly expresses himself against immigration and he had succeeded in convincing many of its unfeasibility. While remaining in Russia, it was criminal to encourage others to emigrate. It was useless to count on voluntary contributions. They would give some hundred thousands. It was better to establish committees for resettlement in interior locations in Russia, upon agreement with the government. Then gradually, step by step, the Jew would near their goal. It was impossible and undesirable to repress emigration. But if they gave a rouble to an emigrant, then one should give to a resettler in the interior locations, of Russia 100 roubles. As to where to resettle, let everyone choose and let the government decide. It is necessary to proceed carefully upon such an important matter and take up the essence, setting aside all the formalism of commissions and sub-commissions.

The Chairman: Emigration is not the only means set forth by the program. We have before us the third point which poses the question on a wider scope. The meeting has confirmed this program. We will hear out everybody but we must remember that emigration is not our goal but only one of the means of the realization of this goal.

Rabbi Spector: (Rabbi Yitzchak Elchanan) We are going through terrible penury. Until these times, only a few select people have striven for the common good. The huge majority sat on its hands. We are already convinced how rickety our hopes for equality and justice are. We have to devise our salvation by ourselves. We must cast our entreaties at the foot of the throne and ask the minister and the officials for means to suppress the disorders and put an end to the baiting and incitement. After that our proper duty is to support those who have suffered and for this purpose, gather significant sums. I repeat again, our chief task is to render assistance to our ravaged brothers and to seek means for putting an end to the pogroms. No one can deprive us of the right to ask for this. This is a critical moment in the highest sense. It is necessary for us to sacrifice all our means and our comfort (he is crying). It is not possible to petition for emigration.

The chairman: But it is necessary to discuss it.

B. V. Manischewitz: An application for emigration, even in whatever form it should take, is necessary in order to have the right to support those who are emigrating.

N. E. Bakst: I consider the information of S. S. Polyakoff extremely important. First of all, because a man who had the decisiveness to point out to the Minister of Internal Affairs that incitement on the part of the administration to emigrate is equal in force to incitement to mutiny, it has been found. Secondly, because we have found out in this manner in which direction the Minister would wish to direct our debates and aspirations. Emigration, or more aptly, the flight of the Jews from Russia, undoubtedly exists and we are presently occupying ourselves with a discussion of the causes of this manifestation. These reasons which have been sufficiently and convincingly elaborated upon here, consist first of all in the present legal situation of the Jews in Russia -- a situation which has led also to the pogroms bursting upon us as well as being the most direct cause for the flight of the Jews from Russia. The promulgated views of the Minister of Internal Affairs, who inclines to the eviction of the Jews to the Southeast outskirts of the empire, chiefly in Tashkent, Achal, Tekeh and elsewhere, can become a no less actual propellent for this emigration. Such an extension of our Pale of Settlement would be even more pernicious than leaving our present Pale of Settlement undisturbed. For such an extension would have the same force as a new official declaration that we were criminals for whom they set up a define place of exile and in the case at hand, the equation of the restricted settlement of the Jews to a place of exile, would be placed in sharper relief because the areas of empire indicated by the Minister of Internal Affairs very closely bound the age old place of exile for criminals. It is necessary for us in discussing this suggestion of the minister, to take into consideration the present psychological mood of our entire people. The presently existing Pale of Settlement oppresses us sincerely. Not only by the factual impossibility to resettle freely in various places of the empire, but by the consciousness of this impossibility.Thus, for example, many of the Jews in Zhitomir, might have no desire at all to resettle in Riazin, but the consciousness of this impossibility morally oppresses them. In other words, the consciousness that they even found it necessary to affix a define place of residence for them. The suggestion of the Minster of Internal Affairs for the resettlement of part of the Jews in Achal Tekeh. cannot possess even a practical significance for us, let alone that it is very strange to place only upon us the task of cultivating the primitive newly obtained areas of Russia. I can be asked what is the guarantee that we will be able to live peacefully in Achal Tekeh? A hundred years ago, they invited us likewise to settled the sparsely populated Novo Rossiyn. We followed up this invitation in the course of many decades. Many places in the Novo Rossiya Krai were created by our forces and our labor- The entire Novo Rossiya Krai were created by our force and our labor. The entire Novo Rossiya Krai in a considerable manner brought to its present condition thanks to our activity. Now they tell us "go away from here. You have already done your business there. Be off, now to cultivate Achal Tekeh. And what difficulty would there be given such viewpoint for them to say again to us after 100 years, when we would have brought the Achal Tekeh to a certain cultural level. You have been here enough. Now go off and cultivate som other primitive countries. I presently don't attach special significance to a resolution of the Jewish problem in Russia by abetting emigration because emigration represents to me a too narrow and even impossible solution for this complicated question and to solicit the permission of the government to organize resettlement committees I considered even harmful for a while. But if our present poverty concludes with a direction to us to resettle in Achal Tekeh, I would be the first to consider it my duty of conscience to expedite, with all available sources, the matter of Jewish emigration from Russia because I think that if one emigrates already, then it would be better to emigrate to Europe and America where there is light rather than to Asia where it is dark. I therefore think that we have no right to accept the suggestion made to us today by the Minister of Internal Affairs and enter into its immediate consideration. Our people is already sufficiently oppressed and humiliated. It has already taken heart and can no longer bear its chains. Do not humiliate it therefore with plans of more remote prisons. Still less, we do have a right to ignore the present mood and situation of tens and thousands of our pillaged brothers. They have . only by chance become the victim of a general persecution against all of us (emphasis, the author!) They have only by accident fallen under the blow of the hammer under which any one of us could have found himself. In such a manner they became only the chance victims of a general effort of hostile forces directed against all of us. Rejecting totally therefore the suggestions of a Minister of Internal Affairs submitted to us, I daresay that the actual task of the Conference should consist of searching capabilities and means for the solution of the entire Jewish problem in Russia in a manner truly worthy of any civilized state. Who knows, through the misfortune which have befallen us now, will also form that narrow path along which we will reach the light of our full rights as Russian citizens. Maybe, the plundering of our property and the trampling upon our honor will present a manifestation after which due to our clarifications and efforts, a full equalization of our rights will follow. History does not provide us with facts together with commentaries. It often speaks to us in signs written inciphers and it is our business to make sense of them in an appropriate fashion.

מי חכם ויבן אלה נבון וידעם כי ישרים דרכי ד׳ וצדיקים
ילכו בם ופושעים יכשלו בם

He who is wise, says the prophet, will understand this. The judicious person will realise it, because the ways of God are just. The reighteous will traverse them safely and backsliders will stumble upon them. The present task of this meeting in my opinion, sinsists of finding among the misfortunes that have befallen us, those roads which can lead to the benefit of the entire people and to shed light on the basis of the past experience upon the course for the future, not in a narrow and partial sense, but in the sense of a wide ranging general solution of the entire Jewish problem in Russia.

N. Ye Siegel: Undoubtedly, Samuel Solomonovitch (Poliakoff) was governed by a simple desire to help our unfortunate brothers, but Central Asia is ~~not~~ a new Pale of Settlement and a much more dangerous one where it will be impossible for us to live. Probably, they know full well that it is impossible to live there and that is why they are suggesting it. It is no use for us to make do with various promises and projects and it is necessary for us to turn with our needs to the feet of the throne.

Ya. N. Brook: In Chernigov there took place a meeting which decided in the absolute majority to reject emigration if our rights will not be narrowed. But if new limitations of our rights await us and if the discussed suggestions of Mr. Ignatiev bears the slightest stamp of legal obligation, then nothing else remains save our leaving.

E. Kaufman is perplexed about what the debate is about.

Chairman: the debates taking place today respond to our program ;which includes clarifying the problem of measures to weaken emigration

E. E. Kaufman: Obviously a misunderstanding took place in the way the question was formulated. No one authorize Samuel Solomonovitch to announce to Count Ignatiev that resettlement would lead to any sort of benefit even when the matter concerns only Geok-Tepe. It is a matter of indifference to us whether or not any member of the meeting wishes to leave Russia or not and under what circumstances he wishes to do this. We are running away from here and we do not ask ourselves how many are going to remain. It is those fleeing who have given occasion to our meeting and it is about them that we should speak.

Chairman: Emigration is only one of the measures.

E. E. Kaufman: This is not a means, and the very essence of the meeting should be concentrated on emigration. Decency alone demands that we define our relationship to emigration which served as the reason for convoking this meeting. The Chairman: the program once it was affirmed by the gathering, is subject to discussion in all its parts.

E. D. Rotenberg: Emigration will provoke pogrom, after pogrom. If our intentions to leave become known, then our property will become despoiled as if it did not belong to us. It would be better to resettle in Russia even if it would be necessary to submit with respect to the choice of locations, to the instructions of the government, for it is still worse in America than in Asia and it is much more distant to go there.

B. E. Katznelson: We have to finish as soon as possible with the unfruitful debate and take up the business. By our inactivity and superfluous caution, we are playing into the hands of the enemies.

G. M. Rabinowitch: Up to the information of S. S. Polyakoff, I did not attach great significance to emigration. He saw it as the results of the pogroms and was convinced that emigration would disappear together with the pogroms. Now he attaches important significance to emigzation. If it is already necessary to leave, then each Jew should go there where at least his children could live a civilized life. They would not permit Jews to return from Achal Tekeh and what advantages lay there wa s unclear. If matters have reached this pass, then we should set out to search for tranquility and security in foreign lands.

E. B. Bank: Even if they limited the program of the session to the suggestion of S. S. Polyakoff, then, what was expressed here would still not be deprived of significance since obviously when speaking of those running away, it is impossible to pass over those remaining in silence. Not everything is lost for the Jews in Russia.

The fate of a 3,000,000 strong people should not depend on the whim of this or that official. No measures can deprive us of the right to a fatherland. Although we enjoy only one tenth of its portion, we still value it and cling to it. The Jews will never leave voluntarily. They will have to force them to run away. We announce this solemnly. The information of the minister for the immediate future is of course doleful and will prove that we were mistaken in relying upon the fact that the pogroms would be convincing proof of the necessity to widen our rights. But it is apparent that there were still not enough pogroms if instead of rights, we have received the munificenct suggestion to undergo the experiences of exile to an uncivilized land. On our part, we should seek the widening of our civil rights or at least the preservation of the staus quo ante. We should not permit private negotiations. It's good of course that they are talking with us, but if they are talking only to decoy us, then it would be better for us if everybody remained silent. We have to adhere to our program. There is no emigration, but there is flight, or whatever some may call it, they may even term it mutiny. It is not possible to regulat this movement. Today's turn came after the Balta pogrom. Tomorrow's -- only God knows the cause. How can we help in this misfortune? Everyone is obligated to do for the poverty stricken whatever lies in his power.

M. M. Sbpoliansky expressed his gratitude to S. S. Polyakoff for his information. It is possible that the aspiration to thin out the Jewish population in the Pale will assist the settlement of the Eastern outskirts of Russia and it is necessary that we should understand the duration of the pogroms to a sufficient degree. At least it is possible to guess this from a place in the speech

S. S. Polyakoff: Where it talks about the development of trade. He suggested to introduce the question of resettlement in Asia to the Commission. Who knows? Perhaps it might be possible to live there. People have lived and live in Central Asia.:

B. V. Manischewitz agreed with E. B. Bank. S. S. Polyakoff: I gret that my words gave rise to a misunderstanding. I apologize. I evidently did not set forth the matter clearly.

Count Ignatiev, not sympathizing with emigration, cannot permit emigration committees which even if they had been established would have brought only harm to those remaining. His suggestion is useful, as much from the vantage point of the government as for those Jews who wish to resettle in an area abundant in oil and presenting the opportunity for developing trade. At least this is how the Minister spoke to me. I remind the gathering. The essence of the question is the right of settlement in the internal guberniyas. Permission to settle in Asia in any case constitutes a step forward. After a short debate on the division of the third point of the program, into a few separate points, it was set forth by the gathering, unanimously: to refer the third point without amendment to a special commission. The Chairman at the conclusion suggested to those who wished to join the commission. The tathering was closed at 5:30 in the evening, the first session of the commission on the third point was set for the 10th of April. End of # 32

Russkiy Yevrey, July 29, 1881

This is the reaction of the acculturated St. Petersberg Jewish establishment to the pogroms. It is decidedly against emigration and continues to see the solution to the Jewish problem in a vocational shift of the Jews to manual and agricultural labor.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The"barefoot command"was a nickname for the thugs and toughs who roamed the Russian countryside and decended upon Jewish communities to engage in pillage and pogroms. They earned their sobriquet because the authorities could never discover traces of these criminals as if they were shoeless and left no footprints.

[2] In one of the ironies of history, Spain which had expelled the Jews in 1492 issued an invitation to the Jews of Russia to come settle in Spain. This suggestion was never received seriously.

RuskIvray - July 29, 1881. St. Petersburg, July 28, 1881

The anti-Jewish movement in Russia's south is apparently becoming akin to an epidemic manifestation. The infection rampages through the huge ravine of the Little Russian and New Russian South. Everywhere terrible calamities are bursting over the heads of the Jews. Humiliation, impoverishment, hunger and terrible poverty. This terrible spontaneous popular movement directed against the Jews gave rise (within the Jewish anthill) to a highly noticeable mental ferment. The belief in their security, in which previously no Jew had prior reason to doubt, was suddenly strongly shaken. A whole series of acts of violence in different cities and villages in the vast Novo Russisk rayon and southwest Krai have shown that the secutity of the Jews is actually somewhat problematical, and very naturally the Jews asked themselves what is fated for us in the future. Let us assume that they arrest, condemn judge and punish the participants in this order. But should we welcome the fact that so many persons from the dark people should suffer for their acts of violence? And part of them were guiltless since they were merely a toy in the hands of the instigators who are strolling about at liberty. Would it not be stupid on our part to work by the sweat of our brow and to toil each in his own sphere, in order that the "barefoot command should have something to work upon for the occasion that it will occur to them to render us a collective visit. Is it our calling to serve as cannon fodder for all exceptional moods and for all public adversity? Such are the quesitons which now pose themselves in Jewish circles, and understandably, such a manner of thinking cannot further the elevation of the spirit of enterprise and desire for physical or mental labor among people. The Jews say to themselves, our present situation is as ambiguous as it can be, and before we devote our efforts to some sort of activity, we have to find an exit from this impossible situation. But where is the exit? Where should we search for salvation? The question, with all its seeming stereotypeness is actually so new, that it is not surprising that an answer has not yet been found and that opinions on this account are strongly divided.

All, however, are in accord in that it is impossible to continue this way; that the present living conditions of the Jews in the country have become completely untenable. But what is to be done? To whom should we flee? Contradictory answers are given to this question. Thus, for example, a few, for some reason, view immigration as the sole single salvation. With the vivid impression of all that is transpiring before their eyes, and furthermore, under the influence of various rumors, concerning the applications of a few zemstvoes and other popular representatives, seeking the exclusion and exile of Jews from the places where they are already living and perhaps press gossip about the need for a greater limitation and whittling down of the rights of Jews. Some Jew will say to himself: "If under the existing condtions, we have to gasp for breath, in our crowded atmosphere, then what will we do, if even an insubstantial portion of these sinister rumors is verified. We have waited and hoped, but apparently, it is not fated for us to have a fatherland in Russia. It seems that it is again necessary to trudge along somewhere, distressing as this may be. It's all the same whether we go to Spain, Palestine or America, as long as we reach the dock. However, few of these supporters of immigration cast their glances upon Spain. They have little confidence in this country where the total influence upon the populace is concentrated in the hands of the Catholic monks and where the regimes, in recent times, have changed as frequently as the weather. The two main points of consideration for those who advocate the necessity of emigration, are North America and Palestine. The political and social conditions of that country, argue in support of America; in support of Palestine -- its proximity to Europe and to the chief centers of immigration and historical rememberances. This question is now being diligently aired in the foreign Jewish press, and it must be confessed that there are heard in this press, voices which are totally in disaccord with the idea of emigration in general. These voices say "that it is nothing new for the Jews to suffer persecutions. The history of their martyrdom knows no equal in the annals of mankind. Nevertheless our forefathers withstood the stormy fanaticism and insatiable venality and made their way through the gloom into the light."

It' s no use for us to become panicky at the sight of these new persecutions which various anti-Semites, Jew eaters and social Christians, or whatever else they call themselves, are attempting to bring down upon our head. To cast off the places where we were born, where we grew up and where the remains of our forefathers repose, would be the height of light-headedness. No one has the slightest moral right to turn us out of our places. We have the same right to these places as they who are persecuting us and sometimes even a greater right. And to yield to brute force when we did not yield even during those times when it acted without hindrance. We should do no less now when it cannot and does not dare perpetrate its previous moods. Yes, and additionally, we do not have any means for emigration, or perhaps some will be found, but you cannot go far on these, and it would be far more intelligent to employ these means for the improvement of the situation of Jews on the spot, as for example, in the construction of trade schools and agricultural farms. Each of these two mutually opposite viewpoints has its supporters and spokesmen who defend their idea with more or less energy and passion.

As regards us, then, readers should be more or less familiar with our viewpoint on this question. We don't place too much hope on emigration and even less on emigration in large masses. In this case, the question of means is far from an idle one. We do not forget that the movement of even 100,000 men, of which only half (and we are taking the minimal number) , will be deprived of all means, requires a few million roubles of capital. Emigration can be admitted only when viewed as a partial measure for a few individuals (although it is impermissable to limit the number of such individuals) but it is not for large masses at one time. Let alone the fact that we strongly doubt the permissio of the government for such a massive resettlement of Jews abroad. In general, the question of emigration should not be decided on a theoretical basis, by dint of some logical necessity, but by life itself and by the very force of events. We find the idea that much can be done and should be done for the Russian Jews on the spot, totally well founded. The situation of the Jews in Russia at the present time is very doleful. We in general have not taken an exceptionally optimistic view upon matters. We now have even less cause. But at the same time, it doesn't follow that we should forget the low level of the Jewish economic situation is in part linked to the fact that the Jews hitherto, aside from very small exception, have not given from their means to the representatives of one branch of labor, which once widely established can guarantee the existence of a half of the poverty stricken Jewish mass in Russia. We are speaking of agricultural work. The idea of attracting the Jews to agricultural work is very old. Our most enlightened people of the previous generation fought for it. Our best wtiters and fighters for the common weal broke lances for it.

our famous and gifted writer and honorable champion of the enlightenment — E. B. Levenson spoke of it during his time often and in detail. The periodical press in the Jewish language, which arose at the end of the 50's considered the attraction of the Jews to agriculture one of its most important tasks. The organs of the Jews in the Russian language, which arose among us in a different time and unfortunately died early, acted in a similar spirit But it was necessary for them to bang their heads on the one hand, against the inconquerable wall of total apathy and absence of initiative and on the other hand against the no less adamant wall of prejudice and ill will. Among the Russian publicists and in Russian society, the opinion prevailed that Jews were incapable for agriculture and no initiatives in this vein would be of any avail. Among the Jews, some . sort of initiative in the area of teaching Jewish masses agricultural labor was out of the question. People who sympathized with this idea read convincing and impassioned articles and were satisfied. The opponents of this thought read the same articles and likewise remained calm not even considering it necessary to dispute the suggestions discussed in them. Just as no one presently considers it necessary to seriously dispute that after a few myriad years, the rays of the sun will cease to warm our planet. But now circumstances have changdd and on both sides, the recently sketched notions have also changed. That is from the one side, the conviction in Jewish incapability was shaken and on the other hand initiative was manifested in the person of the philanthropic fund. The current opinion on Jewish unfitness for agricultural labor had to lose a large portion of its credit as soon as the causes for the failure of previous governmental experiences in colonizing Jews were clarified. The fact of the matter is that in forming an opinion for themselves on the degree of Jews' suitability for agricultural work, the publicists could argue only on the basis of the results obtained in previous experiences. But the experiences as it has now been proven to the point of obviousness, were of that nature that it would actually have been wiser to await their successes. These served as arguments attesting to a negative affinity but in more recent times facts have begun to accumulate which positively prove that the stubborn unwillingness of the Jews to take up agriculture is a fable, which from constant repetition however, has not gained the least authenticity. In the Jewish papers, there were often encountered announcements from entire groups, or from a few Jewish families that they wish with all their heart to take up agriculture, if they would only be provided somehow with the opportunity to settle the land. In one of the recent issues of our publication, Mr. Brook dispatches that 15 Jewish families, each having at its disposal close to 1,500 roubles, wish to obtain small plots of land and take up farming. In the same issue, another correspondent informs us from Gorodish that the local leaseholder, a Jew, is hiring Jews for field work. We can relate such facts in the current issue. We think that all these facts speak more eloquently and convincingly for themselves than current catch phrases and maxims slavishly repeated:" We will never educate the Jew for the plough, he is always looking to get a shop."

Initiative has arisen and still exists as well as a very perceptible desire to exploit it. There is necessarily more sympathy from the part of those who can display this sympathy in a material fashion. From the printed protocols in our publication, of the meeting of the Provisional Committee, the readers will be able to acquaint themselves with the activity of the Committee. As they informed us, the Committee in the recent period, has displayed very energetic activity, but unfortunately, the means presently lying at the disposal of the Committee are very inadequate for satisfying all those who are running to it for assistance. Means are necessary. Support is necessary, but a general support, encompassing all the people. Now at least, there should be no place for that glacial apathy from which many of the most beautiful beginnings withered on the vine before they could succeed to flourish. The doleful events of the recent days should have at least taught us to regard our interests more wisely. However, let them not dream that by teaching Jews agriculture, we will see a panacea against the possibility of recurrent violence and arbitrariness. Worse, we are even convinced that as soon as the Jews actually settle on the land, the guberniya is going to write that the Jews have taken ownership of the land, have seized the land and so on. But there is no doubt that the situation of our indigent, unfortunate homeless masses which are now so numerous in each Jewish community, and of that half-skilled mercantile proletariat which from year to year excels in the art of starving from hunger, will substantially be improved by providing them the opportunity of settling on the land and taking up farming. This would be a result which we should not in any circumstances scorn.

~~863-1915~~ - M. [illegible]

10

INTRODUCTION

Ferment Among the Jewish Masses under the Influence of the Bloody Events of the Last Period

The Impact of the anti-Jewish Disorders upon the Jews

These two articles appeared in issues 37 and 38(1882)= of Volnoye Slovo . This journal while sympathetic to the viewpoint that Jews should drop their foreign ways and customs, nevertheless permitted"M" to air his views. the pogroms shocked many members of the Jewish intelligentsia who had abandoned their peopld to join the V Narod (to the people) movement , which attempted to politicize the Russian orthodox peasant. Some even went to the extent of converting. When the peasant turned not upon the Tsarist autocracy but upon the Jews, some of these Jewish intelligentsia returned to their people. There were, however, unfortunately, cases where Jewish revolutionaries saw the pogroms as eventually "progressive" since the black peasant mass was finally learning to lash out and would eventually lash out at its real oppressors.

Volnoye Slovo #37 1882

"N"

The Impact of the Anti-Jewish Disorders upon the Jews

(Letter to the Editor of Volnoye Slovo)

In the life of Russian Jews there can be observed ~~a~~ to a large degree strange and so lamentable phenomenon which has recently captured the attention of non-Jews. Verily, parallel to the birth among the Russian intelligentsia and especially among the students for a rapprochement with the "little brother," with the ~~aa~~ masses of grey folk, an aspiration displayed both in theory and in practice, both in literature and in the activities of certain parties. Parallel to this, there has been engendered a totally contrary aspiration among the Jewish intelligentsia and again especially anong the students: to get away as far as possible form the Jewish masses and tear up all ties with them. I do not presently intend to enter into a clarification of the causes of this ugly and at first ~~x~~ glance incaomprehnsible phenomenon, but it would seem to have progressed in tandem with the further progress of enlightenment among the Jewish. I simply stated a fact here, a fact which can be interpreted differently but can in no manner be negated. Shallow people comtaminated by ~~xaix~~ an instinctive prejudice towards the Jews, imbibed since childhood, have decided the matter quite simply: The Jeiwsh masses must represent something extremely hideous when the best people, even Jews themselves, strive so ~~sax~~ to separate themselves from them. ~~K~~ Jewish renegades and ~~bxtrxyxxs~~ betrayers of the ~~x~~ Jewisx national cause, not only did not deny this in the majority of cases, but seeking to abet the compliment so fervently desired by them, -- that they were in no way similar to the Jews -- they corroborated such an opinion of their compatriots, which consolidated it still further. The majority of Russian society continues to back this opinion at this time and I have no intention of even disputing this opinion considering it an ~~xnxxx~~ insult to the Jewish masses to defend them against a baseless and unsubstantiate accusation. I would only like to present some facts here which will prove more eloquently than all empty wranglings, how justified the Jewish youth was in thinking itself progressive, in expending all its energies to separate itself from its people and which in its efforts to be solely Russian, became *plus royaliste que le roi*, and ~~trampelled~~ trampled with such impudent callousness upon all things Jwwish.

When in the past year news of the Yelizabetgrad pogrom spread thonough Odessa and terrible panic seized the Jews of the city of Odessa, who had already witnessed similar sights in their lifetime, the idea of forming something along the line of a Jewish detachment for self defense arose among some of the Jewish youth. It should be self understood how many difficulties the formation of a suitable detachment would encounter, as it was necessary to take each step with extreme caution, as there was no ~~publi~~ possibility of gathering ten people together without attracting the attention of the police to oneself. But anyhow they found a place. One simple totally unlettered Jewish housewife provided a hall for the meeting. The first time about 30 men gathered and they decided that on the coming Sabbath they would make their way to the synagogues to encourage the completely bewildered Jews, and to persuade them not to surrender to the pillagers like bound sheep but to defend themselves by all possible means. On this occasion, they intended to advise the Jews that it would be best to organize groups of fit men armed as best as possible in all the quarters. These groups should be constantly at the ready in case of pillage, to either defend their own quarter if the attack fell upon it, or to give assistance to the nearest one. If the ~~congregation~~ congregation of a given synagogue expressed agreement to this suggestion then it ~~would~~ was suppposed to send a representativé to the ~~gathering~~ meeting. It was further decided to go to all Jewish stores and taverns for the same purpose. This was the first *going to their own people* for the educated Jewish youth which was rendered deeply necessary by the tragic moment. I am decidedly not in a condition to transmit that fascinating impression which this "going" made on the grey masses of Jews.

The very concept alone that good and educated men were thinking about them, the masses, men whom they regarded as their pride but additinallly as something inaccessible, this concept raised them,~~x~~ uplifted within them a already ~~thxxadxx~~totally downcast spirit and raised the consciousness of their human word. Millions of warm blessings bursting fromthe ~~xx~~ depths of the soul and interrupted by streams of tears pured down everywhere upon the heads of those few chosen people who had finally ~~fixxxxx~~ thought of their brothers. Yes, ev-rywhere, decisively everywhere, the youth encountered solely warm blessings and more importantly complete trust and a pledge to do what it suggested. Especially touching and instructive were ~~xx~~ scenes in the synagogue where they receised and thanked the orators with enthusiasm. There is still vivid in my memory the picture of a venerable old man of about 60 who after I had spoken some encouraging words approached me, extended trmbling hands upon my head for a blessing, but couldn't utter a single word and burst into tears. The greatest fascination was produced by those who spoke in the Jewish jargon (Yiddish) especially when they introduced biblical and Talmudic sayings into their speech. What especially struck those who for the first time came into contact with their masses, was the circumstance ~~w hxy~~ that our words translated by the mouths of tens of thousands , were not distorted, and reached the most outlying corners of ~~xgh~~ the city, without even external changes. Only one misunderstanding occurred. A twosome appeared in one synagogue, one of whom knew virtually no Yiddish while the other knew it excellently but being an empty-headed fop considered it incongruous with his rank as a student to speak in it. ~~Txxx~~ Therefore

~~Thexefxxx~~

they spoke in half words — neither Russian nor Yiddish and aside from that, before they spoke they entered and exited from the synagogue a few times, so they took them for "nihilists" who as amny thought at the time had stirred up the Christian rabble against the Jews. This led to great consternation among the worshippers and the synagogue elders invited the imaginery"nihilists" to leave immediately. having threatened to send for the policy otherwise. However, when in place of these incapable people, another appeared, and explained what the matter was, ~~x~~ the entire congregation fell upon the elders for their coarse action against people who had come in a good cause.

On the Sabbath after dinner, there appeared a great number of representatives from the butchers, teamsters, unskilled workers, cigarette makers, salesmen, etc. All together there gathered up to 150 men. They were presented with a plan for self-defense. Some raised objections. Some made corrections, pointed out deficiencies, or suggested another plan. All these discussions were conducted with great order and much wisdom and understanding was expressed on this occasion. The Jewish students were struck by all these things and all agreed that not ~~only~~ one student assembly was conducted with such tact, with such wisdom and chiefly with such order. While reviewing the plan for self-defense, many complications arose, which could not be settled at one time, Although the meeting stretched out for ten hours.

The next sessin did not have opportunity to take place, for on he next day, Sunday, the "disorders" burst out. In the meantime, there had spread a rumor among the Jews in the entire city that "students " had formed a "committee" where all who wished to stand in the ranks of the self-defense units could join. This rumor forced many poor people to run about for two or three days in order to find and join this committee. Depsite the fact that almost all the Jews knew of the intentions of the students, and that the students with their committee had become the talk of the town, not a word , not even a hint reached the police about this. Although no final decision had taken place regarding the detachments, nevertheless, projected armed groups were formed in some parts of the city.

When some of our men appeared at the time of the "disorders" in the so-called "Shalensh" section of the city, populated chiefly by Jews, young men armed with sticks would approach us with the word "we will fulfill everything just as the Committee has spoken." In fact, these young people shiningly fulfilled their task and thrice bravely repulsed an attacking crowd of 100 and 200 men.

One person in particular struck ~~a~~ us all with his unusual braver~~l~~y. At the head of one ~~kx~~ throng of attackers there appeared some seminarian who aroused our men by his violence. The Jew mentioned above threw himself alone into the midst of the huge throng, seized ~~a~~ the seminarian, a healthy strapping young fellow and threw himself upon him. Then some Greek, thrust a knife into the Jew's arm above the elbow. Without even extracting the knife ~~of~~ from his arm, he threw himself upon the Greek and then upon others. Thanks to similar heroes, the entire quarter suffered only ten smashed windows. If the police had not ~~systemat~~ systematically arrested not only all who were defending, but even those who were preparing to defend Jews, many quarters would have been protected in a like manner. But it is known how the police acted with scandalous baseness against the defenders.subjecting them to a far crueler fate than that of the destroyers, holding them on barges for days without food and clothing.

In one skirmish, there were arrested some Jewish students.When they led them beaten and bloodied into the police station and into a dark chamber, about 70 Jews were already there. Having seen the students, they quickly drew apart to provide the students with the best places. They nursed the wounded with maternal care , restraining themselves with all their powers from any noise or movement, so as not to disturb the ill. Restraining themselves even from natural needs so as not to befoul the air.

All the seized Jewish defenders were tried and not one of them mentioned even a single word about the committee. And a matter which was known to almost 80,000 Jews remained a total ~~my~~ mystery to the all-knowing ~~pi~~ police and the gendarmes who at that time ~~pak~~ poked their noses about with unusual nimbleness. Yes, not a single one of the Jewish students who in the fateful moment of danger, remembere his duty towards his little brother, had occasion to regret. and all found much that was instructive from this first step towards rapprochement with *their*. people. Many felt themselves like an abandoned baby who after ~~xx~~ long wanderings in strange houses, suddenly finds his mother.

I will relate other and still more instructive facts in the next letter.

M

INTRODUCTION

The Jewish Question in the Ukraine

This article is taken from Volnoye Slovo No. 41, 1882. Mr. Dragomanov was a Ukrainian nationalist leader albeit of a socialist tinge. He was replying to the criticism and dismay of the Jewish intelligentsia, in the wake of the pogroms in the Ukraine. In Dragomanov's article, we see the traditional anti-Semitic elements as well as another theme dominant in Ukrainian anti-Semitism, namely the feeling that the Jews had allied with the dominant Russians, as part of the same oppressing structure. Ukrainian separatism combined with anti-Semitic outbursts and murder would manifest itself during World War I and World War II.

The Jewish Question in the Ukraine

M. Dragomanoff

In order to arrive at a correct solution to the Jewish question in the Ukraine, it is necessary first of all to be aware of just what the Jew Jews represent in this country and in what sort of relationships with other elements of the population of this country and chiefly with the Ukrainians element which forms the huge majority of this chiefly manual laboring population, do they find themselves. It may at first appear superfluous to prove that the Jews in the Ukraine form a par;ticular nation, united by physical and psychological racial marks, and by a separate language (based on German). The national particularity of the Jews is fuether strengthened by their religion which embodies still highly insignificant sectarian nuances. But if ther is no necessity to prove what was stated above, it remains necessary to remind people of highly diversed national and cosmopolitan persuasian Judo-philes as well as Judo-phobes, of it, because the national particularity of the Jews in the Ukraine is not taken into consideration by many people, when conversation turns to the particularities of the Jewish question in this country and in other countries, which in this respect are situated in similar circumstances.

One of the most important particularities in the situation of the Jewish nation in the Ukraine consists of -- aside from the absence of contiguous territory under its feet -- its class composition. Jews here belong almost exclusively to the so-called urban classes (even those who live in villages) and within these chiefly to classes which do not produce value by themselves. Of course, in various places in the country, there is a percentile division of the Jews into producers and non-producers of value and within the latter category, into direct exploiters of another's labor and their auxilliaries, even if they profit little. Various statistics published to date, even if incomplete, can be regarded as conclusive in showing that the Jewish nation in the Ukraine represents in its majority a class, and to a large degree a parasitic class, Here are some statistics in confirmation of the situation. IT IS possible (and even probable that they are not totally exact, but they are nevertheless roughly accurate.

According to the calculation of Orshansky -- whose bias in defense of the Jews has reached the point where he views the Odessa movement of 1871 as the result of a struggle between manufacturing interests, as a struggle of capital with capital, but not as a stnuggle of capital with labor, a struggle which elements of a thoughtless instinctive religious tribal enmity and all sorts of predatory instincts used as a tool. -- In 1860, in the Kherson guberniya, one Jew out of five was a merchant. In Yekatrinaslav, one out of four. In the Odessa district governorship -- one out of three. In the Kerth district goernorship -- even one out of two (The Jews in Russia, 144) Already this substantial percentage of overt merchants attest to the presence among Jews, especially in the southern locations in the Ukraine, of a huge percentage of unproductive population. (In Lithuania, in the Kovno guberniya, there occurs one merchant for each 77 Jews).

According to the account of Mr. Chubinsky (Works of the Ethnographic Expedition in the Southwestern Krai, VII, Vol. I, 210) ~~and~~ Inthe so-called south west Krai (the Kievan, -- ------------------ guberniyas) out of a population of 75,000 Jews there were :

	families	total
1) Holders or leasers of real estate factories, workshops, contractors, large scale commerce, public figures	12,000	72,000
2) Shopkeepers	20,000	120,000
3) Tavernkeepers	19,000	100,000
4) Servants (at manufacturing and commercial establishments)	8,000	48,000
5) Servants-(household)		40,000
6) Rabbis, Melameds and School teachers	10,000	60,000
7) Artisans, cabmen and water carriers	35,000	160,000
8) Beggars	---	20,000

Breaking down these categories by nature of the occupation and degree of produ productive work, we reached the following conclusion: 292,000 people of the first three categories, that is nearly 1/3 of the Jewish population of the given Krai clearly belong to the unproductive class. They are balanced solely by 160,000 persons of the 7th category who represent a clearly productive population. After this, almost the entire 4th category, that is, 48,000 people, should be classified among the parasitic population although probably part of it works with the sweat of its brow and probably a substantial part of it receives a paltry remuneration for its work. It follows that this logic applies even more strongly to the 5th category. Melameds (36,000) and school servants (12,000) from the 6th category, despite the moribund character of Jewish science, nevertheless, not only work but are of benefit even if only as supervisors of children and should be classified in one rating with the Jews of the 7th category. In such a matter, we derive from 750,000 Jews of the Krai, 208,000 clearly productive people while 292,000 are clearly unproductive. The middle categories, 230,000 in all, should sooner be classed among the unproductive rather than productive classes, although parts of them should be classed among the proletariat, for which there should be concern (about this later).

If we take the entire Ukraine, Austrian as well as Russian, in which probably no fewer than 1,200,000 Jews live, then the division of Jews in the southwest Krai, by the very centrality of its position, should unerringly be taken as average for the entire Ukraine. But the further one goes eastward and southward from this Krai, then to a greater degree do the artisans and the generally productive element in the Jewish population dwindle and the greater do the parasitic elements increase. In Volnoye Slovo, (# 31) there were already cited from Pravitelstvenniy Vyestnik, accounts on the occupational distribution of the Jews in Chernigov Guberniya The total number of Jews in this Guberniya is 81,475 souls. Of these, a total of 13% are occupied as artisans. 2% are in agriculture (in the capacity of landholders and leasers. 22% are in tavernkeeping (of these 9% in the cities and 28% in rural areas). 40% don't have a specific occupation and live to a large or small degree as factors relating to the clearly parasitic categories, so that in the Chernigov Guberniya, it turns out that 77% pf the Jews belong more or less to the parasitic class.

Recently, we encountered in the St. Petersurg correspondence of "Independance Belge" (July 21, 1882) accounts borrowed from the reports of special commissions which we have not as yet come across in the Russian papers. These accounts deal with the Jews of Bessarabia (part of which is settled by Ukrainian tribes and which is in general similar to our southern oblasts), and of the Kherson Guberniya. These statistics do not give a full account on the distribution of the entire Jewish population of indications on the number of Jewish and Russian orthodox persons (Ukranian and Romanian) in various characteristic occupations. Thus in Bessarabia:

	Jews	Russian Orthodox
Bankers	7	1
Merchants of the 1st guild	12	2
Merchants of the 2nd guild	595	253
Small traders	6,428	1,621
Brokers	1,374	51
Salesmen	2,281	970
Factory worker & artisans	5,468	14,455
Day laborers	1,777	6,639

In the Kherson Guberniya, Jews number 96% of the total of spirits traders 82% of the firewood traders, 78% bread traders, 71% of the salesman and factors; 77% of the bar owners and inn keepers. Fromboth series of figures, we hope that it should be crystal clear into which classes of the population, individuals comprising the Jewish nation in the Ukraine aspire to place themselves into. There are places, especially in the rural areas, where the Jew and the capitalist exploiter and his accessory, have become synonyms for the Ukrainian popultion (as well as for the Romanian Byelo-Russian and Polish population. In such places, the concept of exploiter and kike have become synonyms in the popular idiom. As a curious example of this point, we point to what was recently written in folk songs in Borislav, a center for the extraction of oil and mineral wax in the Carpathians, where following the discovery of the above-mentioned wealth, speculation in the person of the Jews entered, which in a moment transformed

Ukrainian peasants into proletarians and attracted into Borislav a Ukrainian peasant proletariat from other places. National-class relationships were created which were expressed in the following words:

This is why it is extremely strange to encounter such manifestations of subjectivism among Jewish nationalists and even Narodniks. An example of this is shown by a letter we recently received from an honorable Jewish Norodnik who reproaches us for an insufficiently energetic condemnation of the Jewish destruction and sees in this lack of energy a symptom of national sympathies towards the Ukrainians and antipathy towards the kikes. "What would you say" quoth he, "if that which is done to the kikes would be done to your Ukrainians?" As if the Ukrainian nation consisting almost exclusively of peasants, workers and petty bourgeois could be compared by nature of work with the Jewish nation, with that distribution of the latter accoridng to classes which we witnessed above. The point is that no other nation except the Jewish nation, presnts such a distribution to the most objective observer.

. On the other hand, all abstract international phrases and exhortations xegxdx regarding the clashes of the xx workers, for example, of the Ukrainian nation with the Jews, would be completely naive and therefore ~~[illegible]~~l unfruitful, as would be discussions of the type which one could read in the radical Byelo-Russian publications on the theme Kike and Kulak which contended that the Kulak in Byelo-Russia is hardly better than the Kike in the Ukraine. Its quite possible that this is true (although from this it does not follow that in other nations the capitalist was exactly so merciless as the Kike and the Kulak, whom we are acquainted with and in reality a qualitative and a quantitative analysis is important). But directly regarding the person who the Jew sucks, not only is he not better off but it is not even worth caring about. Such a homily, if it is suitable for anybody, then maybe it is suitable solely for cooling off the Judo-phobes and Russo-philes of "RUS" and "Novoye Vremya" etc. But it has no value in those places where the Kulak and the Kike are synonyms and where the huge percentage of kikes directly and indirectly live as Kulaks. Moreover, of course one can quarrel about everything, even whether two plus two makes four. But if we are not to blind ourselves in the future with abstract formulas, then it is impossible not to see that the common Kulak life among the Jewish Kulaks in the Ukraine is complicated by their Jewishness, that is by their nationality. That bond among the Kulak Jews which emanates from ties inherent as much in nationality as in biological appearance and which is strengthened still further by national religion, gives the Jews an organization for the attainment of their goals so terrible in strength. In addition, the sharpness of Kulak relations between the Jews and non-Jewish masses is exacerbated by those irritations which remain lodged in the Jewish spirit, such as medieval persecution, separate legislation and finally in the Ukraine, the memory of the massive reaction against the Jews in the period of the Kossacks and the Haidamaks. True, among the Jews themselves, there is not only a known-although as we have seen ~~in~~ in certain oblasts an extremely weak -- percentage of people who worked productively. But even among the parasitic Jewish population, a significant number of individuals serve only as transmission channels in which very little of the same juices which they suck out and which in reality are gathered for a minority which exploits them as well, remains. But first of all, the Ukrainian working man is not better off for this and secondly even the real Jewish working population, not only maintains itself separate from the Ukrainian working popul-ation but feels itself far closer to the exploiters from its nation than to the exploited Ukrainian population and constantly dreams of going over to the ranks of the Jewish exploiters and at the first suitable occasion goes over to these ranks although of course only as separate individuals. Finally, in relations between the Jewish and Ukrainian population, there is still another feature which played a conspicuous role ~~in~~ in the series of direct causes of the Jewish pogroms and which in general is one of the characteristic features of the relations referred to. The doleful fate of the Jewish nation and tribe very richly endowed by nature, but constantly humiliated, has produced within it a sick self-love haughtiness and a passion for honors which at the very first opportunity comes to light and frequently, through very untactful and even impudent means. In Russian journals of the p-st year, even in "Golos" which -is sympathetic to the Jews, as well as in Galician Ukrainian papers, there has crept in mention of that feature (Trud, 1881, # 40 and 55, reprinted from Batkovshhina Golos, 1881, # 38), in stories of how Jews who had become rich forced the Ukrainian peasants to remove their hats before them, to call them "Your High Nobility," to kiss their hands, and so on. In Galicia, where the Jews x even more than in Russia "have seized everything in their hands," the Jews permit themselves to beat the peasant at the appearance at signs of non-compliance on the part of the latter. It is significant that these pretensions displayed by the Jews of the Ukraine in the 17th century were among the courses which brought on their massacre and expulsion in 1648. The minstrels of that time depict the coarse treatment of the Jewish leaseholders who seized the Cossacks by the ~~x~~ hair and their naive joy if the Cossack called them ________Lord.

The Muscovite priest Grigor Kunakov who by the edict of Alexei Michaelovich gave an account of the Circassian (Ukrainian) War, (B. ~~S~~ Chmelnitsky with Poland), provides among other things the following intereesting reference: For the Circassians, moreover, there was the opportunity for ravaging the Jews who held leases on their lands from the feudal lords, and those Jews constantly plundered and abused the Circassians.AsAsoonsashchGiCircasiadidtilldewine or brewed beer or honey without the Jew being present, or began to speak facing the Jew, without removing his hat, the Jew would plunder and destroy them for this unusual daring, and they would take away their animals and abduct their women and children into forced labor.

pretensions
But indepdndent of clear ~~pretensions~~ to nobility, and the coarse apppearance of the pretensions which only rich Jews, especially in Russia could permit themselves, all the Jews in the Ukraine considered themselves a higher class above the peasant-Ukrainians. "Idiot peasant," (Chlop or Khokhol), "Chlop-Viper, Swine," We had occasion to hear this from the poorest Jews. Such expressions clearly attest that the Jews considered themselves among the noble classes and together with the nobility as separate from the peasantry, and they employ condescending nobility in conversations

about the peasant Khokhliy, such as we - us, they-them. It is necessary to rmember the circumstance, among other things, when discussing the fact that the peasantry and the Christian proletariat in the cities of the Ukraine did not spare even poor Jews and artisans at the time of the last pogroms. This of course is extremely unfortunateand it was necessary for friends of the Demos earlier and it is necessary now, that they should continuously strive so that such manifestations should not occur. But it is impermissible to be one-sided. It is necessary to ask oneself in what manner and whenever did the poor Jews and even the artisans in the Ukraine (not in the case of a few rare individuals of the sort which Mr. M recounts in his letters to Volnoye Slovo and in general) displayed any of their dissolidarity with the Jewish capitalists and their solidarity with the Ukrainian peasants and bourgeoise? And, does it not follow that a sermon on the solidarity of the proletariat and working man should be directed first of all towards the Jewish proletariat or at least not only to the Ukrainians.

All this together creates in Jewish Ukrainian relations such complications of the universal capitalist problem that to ignore them from whatever point of view, be it from a Jewish nationalist position or from an abstract internationalist one, would be an extreme blunder, equal to ignoring the effects of friction during the movement of the body, ignoring the basic nature both of that body and ~~the~~ its surroundings in which it moves. Just as with this obliviousness it would be impossible to construct practical machines, so remaining without an understanding of this circumstance, that the Jews in the Ukraine represent a nation, a religion and a class, it is impossible to understand the local ~~national~~ national-class conflict, nor to think of practical means for its optimal resolution. Only after having recognized as a fact that the Jewish population in the Ukraine is a nation and a class, isolated still further by religion, will it be possible to set foot on the soil of reality and approach the discussion of the problem of how to remove the doleful consequences of this abnormal fact. We will attempt to do this in the following article.

The Ferment Among the Jewish Masses
Under the Influence of the Bloody Events of the Last Period

In the previous letter, I touched upon one aspect of the new ferment among the Jews of Russia, but an extremely important aspect because with this aspect, ;there begins a new era, the era of the rapprochement of the intellectual youth with its people. ~~Mxx~~ Now I will attempt to delineate this new movement more thoroughly, while embracing a wider sweep and will note not only the positive side of the movement but also the negative ones. Of course I have no pretenses of fully exhausting the subject. It's not the time for it, nor is it possible. In the meantime, it is possible to note only that which has become an existing fact which is reflected in the form of definite aspirations or in the implementation of these aspirations.

The actual influence of these "disorders" (fine disorders when entire cities are left destroyed, with tens murdered and hundreds maimed) was revealed only after some years. The deep misfortune ~~mda~~ undergone by the people did not immediately produce its results. On the first occasions, the people stubbornly remained silent took notice of the situation and thought. ~~Any~~ And many years will pass till this national thought will mature. Meanwhile, the misfortune has not concluded but as is apparent, assumes more horrifying dimensions. Nothing else could be expected after pillagers and murderers met with the plaudits of Russian society.

The fatal minute of danger has created its great heroes and base renegades, its desperate defenders and infamous turncoats, noble ecploits and sordid personal instincts. To the creidt of the Jewish masses, it is necessary to say that in the latest period not a few noble exploits and aspirations were discovered in their midst. But examples of retreat and desertion to an alien and more secure camp were totally absent. True there was the one attempt to obtain desired rights, by means of retreat and most sordid compromise. But this attempt was decidedly not connected with the masses who very rarely worry about equal rights save for the right to dwell anywhere. I am alluding to the"Biblical Brothers" and "New Israel" who encountered everywhere among/nearly all the Jews the contempt which they fuly observed and they have a long time ago been consigned to oblivion. But in view of the fact that these verily neuveaux arrives sects have somehow encountered sympathy in Russian society (the enemy always welcomes deserters with open arms) I will discuss them next time. Now I will speak of the aspirations of the Jewish masses for productive work and chiefly for agriculture, aspirations which agitate these masses and which are beginning to be realized by these same masses. For the sake of greater clarity, I will relate the history of one Jewish agricultural society .

In the small town O lying about 100 bersts from Odessa, there lived a Melamed of 35 years. He would teach Jewish children Talmud and Bible. As a profound expert in his subject, while being by nature a very sympathetic character, he was beloved by all and enjoyed great esteem, plus a very lucrative material position. He did not know any other languages save ancient Hebrew and he could not even read Russian. Having read constantly and carefully in the Bible, and especially the prophet Isaiah and Jeremiah, he reached the conclusion that i the world things were not being done as they should be. He thought of how beautiful it would be if throughout the entire world people live din peace and concord, but above all in accordance with justice, that justice of which the prophets, especially the idoly~~zing~~ized

Isaiah and Jeremiah spoke so captivatingly of, and in such a marvellous poetic manner. Here is how he told me the instant of his gradual rebirth. I was sitting in the synagogue, on the day of Yom Kippur (a holiday of purification and absolution) during ~~ghe~~ the reading of the Torah (scroll) .They were reading chapter 58 from Isaiah. Usually, I follow the reading somewhat mechanically, but this time I attentively followed each word whose meaning began to hit me all the more since I had just thought of the same thing the previous day. Should not G-d already be pleased that man turtures himself with fasting? And Suddently I read in Isaiah should such really be the day of fast that I have chosen? that day on which ~~px~~ man causes himself suffering and hangs down his head in exhaustion? literally like a bent branch and dons sack cloth and ashes? This day ~~yolu~~ You dub a day of fasting pleasing to G-d?! Here is the day which I have chosen. Loose the bonds of evil, sever the fetters of slavery, give freedom to all the oppressed, remove every ~~ynikx~~ yoke. break off a chunk of bread for the poor. Shelter ~~a~~ in your home all those unfortunate, all homeless wanderers. When you see the naked, clothe him and never ignore your fellow man. Then your light will shine like the morning dawn and your balm will flourish and justice and G-d will become ~~hxnxmx~~ your guiding ~~gxidjgx~~stars. ①

These remarkable words of the great prophlt made such a strong impression upon me that I ~~xx~~ could not forget them day or ~~nxx~~ night for a few straight days but thought of them always. It pained me that so many people, so zealously do that which is totally unnecessary and rarely do that which is indispensable as much for themselves as for their fellow man. From that time on I began to keep an especailly sensitive eye upon myself and in general upon the actions of people." Through such and similar reflectionsq our Melamed reached the conclusion that people do a great many things solely beecause they habitually/do not pay attention to their actions, and that the best thing he could do for paople would be to turn their attention to their every step and point out its falsity and noxiousness in a clear manner.

Most of all, he watched himself. and as soon as anything seemed to him discordant, with reightousness and healthy thought he would not do it for that reason. Because of this he had already arrived at the conclusion that to take money for teadching children was the same as taking money for sunlight. But since he would in the final event be compel to die of starvation, he decided to learn a craft an idea which he quickly put into practice. Being ~~typically~~ physically weak, he chose the craft of jewelry.He travelled to Odessa and set himself up as an apprentice.

The jeweller whom he fell in with was an extremely course person and very stingy with money. Life was veyr difficult for all workers at his place and for the apprentices, of which he had several. The new apprentice began to implement his theory regarding the correction of people. In a half year's time, the jewelry workshop was tranformed into a small bnother hood where friendship, love and equality reigned. If that was not enought, under the influence of this melamed, the boss together with the journeymen reached the conclusion that the jeweller's craft was not useful for anybody and that it was impossible to serve people with it and therefore it was necessary to exchange it for a more useful and more necessary craft. The boss jeweller not only devoted hi-mself earnestly to the idea ofthe uselessness of his craft but like every proselyte began to heatedly propagandize it among his acquaintances. All were astonished and could not comprehend this marvellous transformation in the spirit of the jeweler. His workshop became the most pleasant place for all good men in his vicinity. They passed the time there in discussions on how men a sxxhg ought to live in order not to hurt each other. In order that there should not be mastedr and zzxx servant, in order that all among them would be equal. And seeing the near realizaition of a cherished dream in the workshop, it seemed to all of them that there would be nothing simpler and easier than to actually construct such xt a life. M (that is how they called the Melamed) as the person responsible for the newly engendered dreams, enjoyed the very deep love and reverence of the entire small society.Each of his words was as law unto them. Fianlly M planned to create an agricultural colony with the indispensable condition of joining Russians as well to this colony. "So that it can be seen that not only people of one nation but people of different nations can live incpeaze peace and harmony on the basies of full equalityx}x."

The "disorders" burst out and the entire masses as one man began to speak of emigraiton. By means of emigration the masses wished to protest against vandalism (since this was the only permitted form of protest) sooner than to seek their safety. They shouted with one voice "far away, far away from this land where they so inhumanely trample us down where they take away elementary rights which in civilized countries they even do not deprive animals of". "I wish to restrain all my people from emigrating" M told me subsequently. " I used to think that we had only the rabble against us, but when I saw how almost the entire Russian society celebrated with such festive faces, beaming from happiness, the Russian public went on a spreee at the time of the most terrible mob violence. My heart became very heavy and I decided that there was nothng left for us to do here. It was impossible to view without great pain this honorable and warm hearted thinker and creature of love and equality between people and nations. How deeply he suffered during the unsedate times. He suffered both for his deeply wounded brothers and for all men who had so besmirched themselves. A peaceful brotherly union of peoples was his ardent dream. He constantly and with enthusiasm would cite the concluding words of one chapter from Isaiah: " When Israel Mitzraim (Egypt) and ! ssyria will unite together there will come a blessing upon the earth, a blessing which G-d will bestow upon them, saying Let my people Mitzraim and Assyria, the work of my hands, and Israel my inheritance be blessed." "You see," He exclaimed," What loftiness of thought, what absence of any narrow nationalism." And suddenly ~~he suffered~~ there was such deep disillusionment but soon he took heart, having decided that this deep misfortune had its positive side for the Jews which required taking advantage of. This positive side, he saw, in the awakening of a nationsl spirit among the Jews "We Jews" he said, " Have given to he world the highest ideas of morality which until this time have not been realized. Maybe it has been decreed that we should be the first to show the world an example of this: that it is possible to construct and live on the basis of the highest jutice and equity. And here with this thought he began to agitate and win over followers nearly 200 men who soon grouped

t

themselves around him. With these followers, he planned to form an agricultural colony in America on the following basis: 1) that the land should belong to the entire community and should be tilled in common.
2) That all should receive from the profits only as much as they needed.
3) That the entire remainder should go into a common fund to be utilized for obtaining new lands on which other Russian Jews would be settled.
He knew how to set forth his plans and dreams of a future brotherly life in such a simple clear and in addition enchanting form in order to win over the most hardened hearts. For example, from ~~sh~~ the city of A lying 40 bersts from Odessa, there were sent two deputies for talks with this fledgeling company in order to join it. As a preliminary, it is necessary to note that the city A consisted of a very nasty element of Jews and they are even known (also among the Jews themselves)as type A swindlers. The Type A deputies, were experienced peopl,e tempered in commerce and yes, also by years. they thought of settling in America simply because to live in Russia meant risking their property and life every day. They never heard of any ideas in their life, and they even didn't wish to know of them. But when M began to draw before them the plan of a future brotherly life in full harmony peace and love, when all excited he concluded his attractive picture with the exclamation: "Brothers, what can be better than to live in such great happiness,knowing that in addition you are bringing still more happiness to others." The hardened type A deputies were moved to such an extent that they shed floods of tears . They rushed to receive the orator and warmly thanked him for showing them how beautiful and good it was to live in brotherhood and in x justice. "Hpw beautiful it is,"x~~say~~they

exclaimed. "But we ourselves would have never thought of it." And from A nearly 70 families joined the future colony. All thise immigrants consisted in a large part of artisans, common workers and small traders. There were, however, among them some well to do people. Since some sums of money were required even at the initial moment, every enrolling ~~xx~~ member, therefore, had to put in three roubles. With these monies, two deputies were sent abroad to the Viennse and Parisian Alliance Israelite, to drum up support from them for the voyage and if possible for the constuction of the proposed colony.

However, it was decided that if the Alliances would refuse to extend aid then they would reach America at all costs and realize the planned idea. This past November the Society sent at its expense 70 men to Brody (?) where there was formed a committee from members of the various Alliances to assist various Jews emigrating from Russia to America. This first group consisted in a large part of young people, among whom there were also 4 students of the Novo Rossisk University. It is noteworthy that among these young people there was no one subject in that year to military service. The society firmly decided not to accept such people in its midst with a view that others should not suffer for their sake. This party had to serve so to speak as the vanguard of the colony and would prepare a refuge for the arrival of other available colonists.

In Brody (?) in view of the constant procrastination of the committee, the party had to ~~txxyxaxaxdax~~ tarry around 2 months and during this entire time it was maintained at the expense of members remaining in Odessa. Nearly 100 shoemakers, tailors and small tradesmen sent two deputies and deliverd approximately 70 men to Brody (?) and maintained them there two months mothhs which cost altogether a sum of nearly 3,000 roubles. Various Brodskys, Tulchinskys and bloodsuckers similar to them did not come to the aid of the unfortunate with even a single kopek, offering as an excuse that the rulers did not permit emigration. Moreover, these base traitors to the people, desiring to conceal their shameful activities from Jews abroad, began to persuade ~~thje~~ The latter that everything was rosy with the Jews in Russia and convinced them to ~~xxixx~~ cease their activity as superflouous and perhaps even harmful. Even from these villains, even from these devourers of Jewish blood, it was difficult to expect such a thing. But that is how it is. And with this base lie, the Efruses Polyakov and Ginszberg covered themselves.

But returning to the party, which through its exemplary behavior and its internal organization, had obtained general love and esteem and had aroused other emigrants to organize in the ~~xxx~~ same manner. Finally, at the end of ~~xhx~~ December the entire party set out for America -- part of them at their own expense and part at the expense of the committee. tThis is how one Russian Jew journeying from Paris to meet them, describes his farewell with them at Le ~~Hvre~~ Havre. Then, everyone approached the starboard and I stood nearby on the shore. And in this manner we conversed. Brotherly speeches filled with ardent hope and with a ~~xp~~ proud belief in their strength ~~h~~ flowed.'Never never shall we forget our tortured brothers in Russia. We are not leaving so that we ourselves should be happy and free. No, we wish the happiness of others.Our entire goal is that we should be able in the future to serve our brothers with material and moral support.' But here there boomed out a sinister noise, the noise of the ~~xxxhinxx~~ engine, heralding that the fateful minute of departure had come. The hearts of all stopped beating and we all suddenly fell silent. Here the vessel began to turn slowly "goodbye dear brother" Everyone all at once burst out, in literally a deep moan from the spirit. "Happy journey, brothers, may G-d bless you and give you strength to realize your lofty goal to which you strive. Be firm and fear nothing. Remember what the Talmud says. A person who is sent for the sake of a good cause is not subject to danger." Up to this time we were speaking in Russian, but here one person shouted in Yiddish: "Zeit Gezunt." and all repeated after him, "zeit gezunt." The ship moved slowly along the shore so that I was able to follow it, and we continued to send to each other the most heartfelt and warm wishes. It struck me that the thought that they would be leaving land for 12 days and maybe longer did not arouse consternation in anyone. On the contrary. This thought aroused in them cheer and courage. But here the ship made a sharp turn and began to draw away from the shore. The parting wishes resounded still louder. "Brothers, what do you desire for Russia?" I shouted as strongly as I should in order to be audible. "Happiness for the people," resounded the single-spirited response which struck me to the very depths of my soul. "

Two months ago a second party also around 70 men and also at the expense of the society, set out for London frmm whence they hoped to be sent to America. Whether the dreamer and idealist M will succed in realizing his ardently desired idea, is of course hard to say. The composition of the colony into which such people as the above mentioned jeweler, his journeymen and many others who have lived for a long time under the influence of M and have been nourished by his ideas, have entered, is grounds for us to expect a great deal from this colony. M himself deeply believes in the full possibility of realizing his idea. But there is no doubt that at the time of the actual consturction of this colony, many complications will arise which can threaten the activity. I nevertheless think that M through his clear simple mind and his ability to work upon the noble feelings of man to call them forth to activity, will gratly assist in settling these difficulties. There need only be apprehension lest the students who have joined the colony should shake these simple honorable toilers from their senses by means of their book deduced theories.

M was totally unwilling to/accept intellectuals into his circle . "These masters" he said, "invariably become privileged and want to rule over everybody believing that without them no one can understand anythkng." Unfortunately, it is necessary to admit that M is absolutely correct. Pusshing at random for the destruction of all rulers and inequalities,the youth often , even almost always, assumes dictatorial authority in those of its organizations where the little brother also participates and demand a veritably blind obedience to itself. Such dictatorial instincts on the part of the youth can be the ruin of an excellent k thing. Therefore, that part of the y Jewish youth which has recently dr-wn closer to its masses, should pay particular attention to this. For these masses will in no way tolerate dictatoriship nor any blind authority in general. They will easily and willingly submit themselves in a healthy sense to a sincere friend who wishes their benefit. But as soon as they discern among you aspirations to be a "paritz" (fuedal lord) over them, then they will immeidately draw away from you. "you are Jews just like us", they will say to you "and Jews are all equal, all brothers."

In addition to the already described society of xx new Jewish pioneers, which encountered very warm sympathy in many cities, and could have grown to considerable proportions, had M himself not been opposed to it, being apprehensive of accppting those whom he did not know fully and fearing lest a large number of men would lead to greater complications. In addition to the society, in Odessa alone there exist about three others with almost the same goals. Aside from Odessa, agricultural societies have been formed in nearly all cities of the south and in many cities of the southwwst. Agriculture, agriculture, shouted the progeessive people among the Jews two years ago, and the starving huddled Jewish masses accepted these words with enthusiasm and did their part in support of the establizhment of a Jewish agricultural fund. This fund became the wretched fraudulent creature designed to benefit the Jewish Derunov-Polyakov who set it in motion. Agriculture, agriculture, the Jewish masses in their entirety screamed in a single voice as one man. But, agriculture, in America, in Palestine where we will be among ourselves, where they will not destroy our agricultural implements, where they will not rustle and kill our cattle, and if such pillagers and murderers come upon us, then we will have the right to defend ourselves against them. Here they don't even permit us to defend ourselves. Over there, over there, there we will work and live in brotherhood. Renan was totally correct when he said that in the business of national reminiscence periods of mourning were more significant than those of triumph: they impose obligations ~~obligations~~ and dictate common conditions.

הלא זה צום אבחרהו פתח חרצבות רשע התר אגדות מוטה: ושלח רצוצים חפשים וכל מוטה תנתקו. הלא פרס לרעב לחמך ועניים מרודים תביא בית כי תראה ערם וכסיתו ומבשרך לא תתעלם. אז יבקע כשחר אורך וארכתך מהרה תצמח והלך לפניך צדקך כבוד ה׳ יאספך.

(Isaiah 58:6-8)

ביום ההוא יהיה ישראל שלישיה למצרים ולאשור ברכה בקרב הארץ. אשר ברכו ה׳ צבאות לאמר ברוך עמי מצרים ומעשה ידי אשור ונחלתי ישראל.

(Isaiah 19:24-25)

שלוחי מצוה אינם נזקין.

(Pesahim, Page 8, side 1)

11

INTRODUCTION

The Turning Point in the History of the Jewish Workers' Movement

Yu. O. Martov (Tsederbaum) gave this address during the brief period he was associated with the Bund. He would later emerge as one of the stellar leaders of the Russian Mensheviks. With the exception of the national issue, the Bund and the Mensheviks saw eye to eye, especially on the issue of the mass worker dominated party, as opposed to the revolutionary vanguard party, championed by Lenin. The Bund would later throw back many of Martov's arguments in this speech in his face after he had deserted them for the Mensheviks. Martov was exiled from Russia in 1921.

The Turning Point in the History of the Jewish Workers' Movement

An address delivered by Yu. O. Martov
at the May Day gathering in Vilna - 1895
(Translated from the Russian)

Dear Comrades:

Today each group of the combative working class takes stock of achievements in its sphere of activity. Among you, the vanguard of the army, a vanguard in which the leadership of the army is concentrated, a vanguard which foomulates and pilots the program of the movement, it would be far wiser to discuss those victories which our movement has attained in the area of consciousness and the self clarification of its very character, objectives and tactics.I wish to discuss, here, in the same manner, those accomplishments realized by our movement, principally in the preceding year, which pertained to the self consciousness of our most advanced activists.

First of all, let us make clear what type of accomplishment we are talking about. What can and what cannot be considered a success in the development of self consciousness among the representatives of the proletariat. We should easily be able to answer this question if we remind ourselves of precisely what we in a class movement commonly recognize as success and progress. The success of the proletarian movement consists in its gradual liberation from the economic and political oppression under which it finds itself, in contemporary society. We speak of the successes of the workers movement in the conomic domain when the working class by means of limiting the work day, organizing unions, and by similar measures, increases its independence vis-a-vis the ruling class. We talk of the political successes of the proletariat when it conquers one political right after another; when by choosing its own representatives in a legislative assembly, it increases its resistance to the bourgeoise. In a similar vein, we can place the working classes' growing independence under the heading of political progress. It follows that one must recognize liberation from the intellectual oppression to which it has been subjected by the bourgeoise, as a success of the working movement in the intellectual sphere and a growth of working class self-consciousness. You will agree that this explanation is correct, if it is conceded that in contemporary society, the working class is in a state of political, economic and intellectual enslavement.

This intellectual enslavement consists of the fact that the proletariat feels within itself the influence of those ideas and understandings which have grown on the soil of bourgeois relations and are approved and consecrated solely by these relations. Understandings on laws, customs and religion have been created by representatives of the upper classes. All this, subconsciously, accommodates the interests of the upper classes while it exerts a powerful influence on ~~xhe~~ the enslaved classes.

Patriotism, that bellicose patriotism which attempts to destroy and devastate the entire world in the interests of the fatherland — this patriotism with which we are well acquainted, arises on the soil of bourgeois relations and is nothing more than a reflection of international capitalist competition. But the people, that very people whose sweat and blood flows in the struggle, what profit does it derive when it is enticed by the fanaticism of -patriotism? Do we not in this case witness an example of the peoples' intellectual bondage?

I will memtion still another characteristic example of the influence of bourgeois ideas on proletarian consciousness. In a developed capitalist society where production, trade and the means of communication and credit stands on ~~the~~ a high level of development, a flourishing economy unavoidably demands full economic and civil liberty. Any trusteeship, any superfluous control, any constraint on personal energy retards and constrains production and trade. In such a society, full freedom of competition for the separate participants constitutes an economic ideal, and understandably, the outlook of the educated part of the bourgeoise is fully molded by this ideal. Therefore, the intelligent representatives of the bourgeoise consider the idea of freedom as the highest and most just idea, an idea which they widen and genralize. According to their understanding, what is under consideration here, is not freedom of trade, production and competition, but individual freedom. And this idea they transpose into the political and religious spheres. -In the conviction of these bourgeois idealists, they stand for the freedom of trade and production because it flows from the idea of individual freedom. In reality, they are for individual freedom because the social conditions of their time have posed the problem of free competition as a vital necessity.

Nevertheless, we repeat, these very same bourgeois scholars and writers (of course there are traders among them, but we don't have these in mind) -- these bourgeois idealists were convinced of the fact that they were applying and defending the most high and just ideals of individual freedom. Therefore it is understandable that when the question of limiting the work day arose, all these bourgeois activists became indignant at such suggestions, viewing them as destructive of freedom of trade, which in their opinion was the sole logical outcome of their concept of individual freedom. They are indignant not only because a law limiting the work day would deprive the manufacturer from concluding conditions with the workers for a longer work day, but because the law constrains the free will of a grown man by forbidding hi-m the right to make any agreement which is convenient to him.

Let me warn you again. Don't think that similar arguments of bourgeois activists are mere hypocrisy . However strange it is for us to imagine that wise and cultured people seriously share such a view, we should nevertheless not see in this plain hypocrisy.

Medicine is familiar with a disease known as Daltonism. In this illness, the eye loses the ability to sense all colors, save one. And all things to the afflicted appear to be painted in the same color. This illness is very widespread in history, and the affiliation of a particular person to a given class or to a given historical epoch, distorts his mind and paints all his ideas in monochrome. Therefore, it is understandable that at a time when the question of limiting work hours is under discussion, the entire bourgeois mass, which is led by its most advanced activists, persons not directly affected by the problem of the work day (for example merchants, bankers, lawyers, etc.) should become opponents of a limited work day fully sincere in the belief that they are opposed as a consequence of their ideological conceptions. We shouldn't distrust this, we should only add that this very idea grew in the soil of the bourgeois capitalist structure, that it is a justification and sanctification of that structure because it corresponds to the interests of the bourgeoise.

But what should we say when we see that this idea takes hold of not only the bourgeoise but also the working class? When we see that entire workers' movements, such as a few English and American unions battle against an eight hour work day from the standpoint of freely reached agreements. Is it not clear that we are dealing with the intellectual ensalvement of the proletariat and its intellectual immaturity -- thanks to which it nourishes itself with ideas deriving from the upper classes, corresponding to their interests and hence hostile to its own concrete interests.

This example clearly demonstrates that even when the working class is already engaged in a struggle for the beteerment of its lot, it still finds itself under the intellectual oppression of bourgeois society. The same example illustrates that the growth of the workers' movement does not entail solely a struggle for economic and political liberation but also a struggle to remove bourgeois ideas, to form its own class theory and program and to work out what La Salle[1] has dubbed the idea of the workers' estate.[2] Therefore, returning to the discussion of our movement, I set for myself the task of delineating in what respect we have pushed forward on the road to liberation from the influence of ~~thmx~~ ideas of bourgeois structure and on the road to class self ~~x~~ consciousness. I set for myself the task of pointing out that those transformations which are young movement has experienced recently are positive transformations responsive to the growth of our intellectual independence.

In turning to a clarification of the theoretical accomplishments of our movement, we should dwell on two which are inter-dependent. Our movement has become firstly more democratic and secondly more materialistic. The democratic character in the present period of our movement, in comparison with the past, lies in that we have adopted our program, our struggle, and our tactics to the masses, and in that our main task does not lie in propagandizing small circles but in mass agitation. The target of our activity which we should have in mind for our future as well as our holiday (May Day) agitation, is not the worker intelligentsia distinguished from its environment by its own intellectual capability and by its need for enlightenment, but the average worker, with average demands, of average morality and of average level of development.

The materialist character of our present day movement, in comparison with the past, consists in that our hopes and beliefs do not base themselves on a belief in the omnipotence of our ideas and theories, this was characteristic of an idealist world outlook, but are founded on the needs of the masses, on the development of these needs, and on the transformation of the masses under the influence of this development.

The political movement we awiat, will not commence from the time we will have succeeded in convincing the masses that our ideals are just, but when the political demands will be worked out by the masses themselves following their economic development.

You won't take issue, comrades, that these two tranformations -- greater democracy and greater materialism -- actually separate our present movement from the past. It is asked, are such transformations progressive? Do they constitute successes in our liberation from bourgeois points of view?

Yes, undoubtedly! The bourgeois intelligentsia could only look upon themasses as material which the great people would fashion into whatever they please. They couldn't look upon the people otherwise, owing to the conditions of bourgeois society which for the bourgeois intelligentsia is the only possible structure. Because of these conditions, they try to make the mass into a passive herd which plays no conscious role but follows blindly after the shepherd. In primitive society, the entire people formed an undifferentiated mass. All worked alike and all participated alike in the affairs of society. But the more civilization developed, the more widespread the division of labor became, not only between town and country, not only between the thousands of branches of industry, but between mental and physical labor. ~~Say that in~~ Hence in developed capitalist society, political affairs were concentrated in the circle of the upper classes, and among these, principally in a small number of professional ~~in~~ politicians.

It is not surprising that the bourgeois intelligentsia to whom the bourgeois structure appears as the highest structure, can imagine that history is created by the intelligent few. In this opinion, there is reflected the aristocratic character of all bourgeois idealism, of all bourgeois parties and theories, a character which is a consequence of the conditions of bourgeois society, a consequence of the division of labor between the working masses and the thinking few.

Only the theory of Marx and Engels has given socialists the ability to cast off the yoke of bourgeois ideas. Having explained the entire history of bourgeois ideas, as a product of gradual class warfare, Marx pointed out that behind the struggle of the thinking minority, there is concealed the struggle of the masses and the classed. Although in contemporary society this is accompanied by sharp divisions between the political activists and the masses, the former are wholly educated by the latter and in reality fight for their interests. Once having understood the class character of each historical era, socialism became ~~si~~ scientific and at the same time democratic.

But the division of labor in contemporary society has still another consequence; the division of society into the mass and the thinking activists creates separate conceptions of material demands. For the masses, material demands are the most important thing in life, but for the thinking minority, which lives primarily in the world of ideas, the struggle is not for a better material situation but for the triumph of one idea or another.

In primitive society such a division between the material life and the life of ideas did not exist. Every ~~bourgeois~~ bourgeois scholar will freely admit that in primitive societies religion did not imagine itself as other than a reflection of actual material existence and that the basis for all ideas in primitive society were primitive demands. But when the topic is civilized society, bourgeois scholars are loathe to concede the dependence of ideas on life. They say that in cultured society, ideas are the cause of material factors and not vice versa. They are loath to admit that in the ideas of this philosopher or another, or in those of the political activist, there is a reflection of the societal conditions of a given period. The cause of the bourgeois attitude to their ideas lies in the division between ideas and life and between the thinking minority and the working masses. It is impossible for those political and social activists who concentrate all social life in their hands, who promulgate ideas and programs for society to construe things otherwise. To them, ideas are very just and very moral and they are convinced that these ideas remain solely because they are very true. Every honorable bourgeois politician, who combats socialism, believes that he is doing this not because socialism menaces the material interests of the ruling classes, but because his mind and inclinations are against the socialist idea. Being of the belief that history is made by critically thinking peole, such an activist is convinced that a critically thinking person fights for this idea or another solely becuase he believes in its verity. Therefore, thejprogram of such an activist boils down to one thing: to spread the idea among critically thinking persons and to secure the collaboration of such persons. It is apparent from this that the aristocratic bent of the bourgeois intelligentsia is inseparably tied to its idealism and a belief that ideas are the motive force in history.

Bourgeois activists cannot understand why this idea or another should prove attractive in a given time to this intelligentsia or another. They just can't understand why to them a certain idea should represent the sole truth and they will ascribe the success of this idea to its verity while the success of other ideas they attribute to an insufficient development of critical thought. It required the great genius and revolutionary character of Karl Marx to express, in total independence of bourgeois ideas, that it was possible to understand why a particular idea played a particular role in history. And, Marx explained that this is caused by the fact that history is made by the masses, and the thinking minority presents itself not as an independent creator of ideas but as fully dependent albeit unconscious servants of a particular class. He explained that every intelligentsia is a class intelligentsia and each idea which has attracted in a given time a given intelligentsia, was created on the soil of the material demands of a given class. If history is propelled by the class struggle, then the role of ideas is limited to the expression and consecration of the material interests of the warring classes.

In the same manner, the destruction of an aristocratic nature goes together with the destruction of idealism. This is why we can say that by becoming more democratic our movement has become more materialistic. It is now supported by the needs of the masses rather than by the ideas of a few persons.

The idealistic and aristocratic bent of the bourgeoise lies in its imagining that history, is created by critical thinking persons, whose idea goes forward in battle. The intellectual enslavement of the proletariat is expressed by the fact that some of its representatives are inclined to view history in the same manner. Bourgeois politicians can console themselves with the thought that they are creators of history, since they stand at the apex of society. This is not the case with workers even if they belong to the worker intelligentsia. It would require a heaping amount of fantasy for them, since they after all are fastened to the bottom of society, to believe that their strength -- the strength of critical thinking workers will suffice to transform the world.

Therefore, in the heads of more sober representatives of the proletariat, the dependence on bourgeois idealism is expressed in this manner: not being able to lose hope entirely in the masses, ~~it applies~~ they apply to them the title of critical thinking persons. The theory that the very beginning of the struggle of the proletariat should be its intellectual and moral development stems from here. This position is of course more democratic since the mass does not stand totally on the sideline, but it constitutes bourgeois idealism nevertheless. Firstly, because we have seen that this viewpoint , that the idea moves history, is a creature of bourgeois circumstances. Secondly, the opinion that the first condition for the economic liberation of the proletariat is its moral and intellectual development is no other but a reflection of an habitual bourgeois opinion that the economic superiority of the bourgeoise over the workers is a consequence of the bourgeoise's higher intellectual and moral development, in the head of the worker.

Every educated bourgeoise would subscribe to the program of our opponents (those Jewish socialists who oppose mass agitation, ed.) that before the worker can think of improving his situation he should become a developed person, and should even provide you with a 20 kopec piece and an ancient alphabet. When the question concerned the liberation of Russian farmers from serfdom or the American negroes from slavery, then the Russian estate owners and the American slave holders shouted in unison: "First of all develop them, make them cultured people and then give them freedom." Our view -- the view of scientific socialism, the view of a class theory of the -proletariat, liberated from the intellectual fetters of the bourgeois structure, is just the opposite, namely: economic servitude is the basis for the intellectual poverty and moral inferiority of the working class. In the struggle for economic liberation, the working class will attain a lofty morality and a lofty self consciousness, and the greatest success in the area of developed consciousness will be the liberation of conscious workers from this very prejudice — that by the ~~patxh~~ path —of the intellectual transformation of the worker, it will be possible to reach his economic liberation. We can say that our activity has clearly affirmed that the morality and self consciousness of the working class is welded in the course of the economic struggle. We are certain of this, having seen both during the workers' assembly and in recent events, how the mass educated by the economic struggle attains such a level of mosality and class consciousnes, that even our very intelligence and critical thinking opponents did not, alas, display.

Let us pass on to the third theoretical success which is equally sound as the first two and is indissolubly connected with them. We have demonstrated how our movement tore off the aristocratic and idealistic tint which it received from bourgeois idealism. Now we will mention still another trait which we received not from the bourgeois in general, but from the Jewish bourgeois in particular and its intelligent representatives. To our lot, the lot of the Jewish proletariat, has fallen the unenviable fortune of being exploited by the most pitiful and lowest bourgeois class in the world. Our bourgeoise is deprived not only of political rights like the entire Russian bourgeois class but of civil rights as well, and it still does not attempt anything to ~~m~~ improve its lot, but expects everything from the mcercies of the Russian government.

It never enters the mind of our bourgeois intelligentsia that the Jew, only thorugh his own cativity, can expect an improvement in his situation. The Jewish bourgeoise does not even energetically support the Russian liberal movement. Many reasons gave birth to the character of our bourgeoise, all these reasons made them totally useless, for the Jewish working class. Mor than that, the views of the bourgeois intelligentsia played a directly harmful role in our movement, which at first felt the influence of this national passivity. In the same manner that the Jewish bourgoeis intelligentsia expected everything from he Russian government and nothing from the self help of the Jewish people, we, in the first years of our movement expected everything from the movement of the Russian working class and regarded ourselves as a mere tributary to the general Russian movement. Having relegated the Jewish working class to a ~~pos~~ position of secondary priority, we carried on in scornful neglect of its actual state. This attitude found expression in the fact that our activity was conducted in the Russian language. Desirous of preserving our ties with the Russian movement which was of course indispensable we forgot to maintain our ties with the Jewish masses which did not know the Russian language. Yes, in this there was manifested our adoption of bourgeois mistrust for the Jewish masses. Our first priority was the idealized Russian movement and because of this we did not see the inclinations of the Jewish movement.

Reality has forced us to change our tactics and seemingly the most important reason was that at a time when all our hopes were tied to the general Russian movement, we had without notice raised the

Jewish movement to such heights which even the Russian movement has yet to attain. Obviousl,y, it would be absurd to continue to limit ourselves to those elements of the Jewish masses already touched by Russian culture and to whom we can transmit that culture. It would help us advance in this respect, if we became more democratic and more materialistic. Having placed a mass movement in the center of our program, we have to adopt our propaganda and agitation to the mass, that is to make it more Jewish. In this tran-formation, we witness a new victory ~~mxxfx~~ over adopted bourgoeis opinions.

And, we should maintain the view that while feeling a continuous tie with the Russian workers' movement, we should not close our eyes to the fact that it is still weak. Besides, we should remember that our democratic slogan "Everything through the people" does not permit us to expect the economic political and civic liberation of the Jewish proletariat at the hands of the Russian or Polish movement. The Jewish working class is composed of a sufficiently sizeable mass which when organized, will comprise an ever ~~impixx~~ imposing force. Of course, this strength by itself will not suffice to accomplish the ~~ecoinomicx~~ economic, political and civic liberation of the Jewish proletariat, and in this circumstance there is routed the indissoluble tie which binds us to the general Russian and Polish movement. We well understand that without the success of the Russian and Polish workers, we won't accomplish much, but on the other hand,we can't as in the past, expect everything from the Russian proletariat, just as our bourgeoise expects everything from the Russian government and bureaucratic liberalism. We should bear in mind that the Russian working class will

will encounter such obstacles that each trivial conquest will cost it a terrible expenditure of energy and that is why it will succeed only gradually and through stubborn struggle to secure political and economic concessions. In this situation, it is obvious that when the Rusian proletariat is compelled to sacrifice some of its demands in order to get something in return, it will ~~k~~ more speedily sacrifice those demands which specifically pertain to Jews: for example, freedom of religion and equal rights for Jews. The same thing will occur with the Russian liberal movement which will be inclined to sacrifice Jewish interests in return for anything. And, we should not complain to the Russian working class and Russian liberalism about this. ~~Thisxthing~~*A class that cannot achieve freedom by itself, is unworthy of it.* Whereas, when the Jewish proletariat will be organized, it will in each given circumstance render assistance to the Russian or Polish movement~~xx~~ and in joining it will achieve a common liberation.

This is why we should decisively affirm that the goal of social democratic activists in Jewish areas lies in creating a separate Jewish workers' organization which will lead and educate the Jewish proletariat in the struggle for economic, civil and politial liberation. But, it can be asked, are we not by setting for ourselves this goal, creating a national party? Are we not by setting this goal altering one of the basic principles of socialism, namely its international character?

Yes, socialism is international and that historical process that creates class war in contemporary society will inexorably lead to the elimination of national boundaries and the ~~mgerger~~ merger of ~~spearate~~ separate peoples into one. But you will of course agree that until that time and while present society still exists, the actual task of each nation is the conquest, if not of full political independence, then in all circumstances, at least fully equal rights. Having conceded this, you will agree that the national downtrodedness and passivity of that nation which is deprived of civil rights is a hindrance in its path, and that its liberation from a century's long hibernation and the awakening within it of strivings for liberation and civil rights, is a task for a socialist party. In a similar vein, *that working class that can reconcile itself to the fate of a particular nation, will never rise up against the fate of a particular class*. Therefore the national passivity of the Jewish masses is an obstacle to the awakening of class consciousness and the awakening of national and class consciousness should go hand in hand. True, if among we Jews there existed a national revolutionary movement, but not a socialist movement as was the case in Poland, then that movement could have fogged up the consciousness of our proletariat. Fortunately, this is not ~~be~~ the case with us. We do not have to fear that having recognized once and for all the special character (call it national if you will) of our movement, we will succumb to the influence of bourgeois nationalism which has been and will remain the mortal enemy of proletarian class consciousness.

In this case, the worthless character and national apathy of our bourgeoise which we discussed previously has done us a great service. It is worthwhile for us to rid ourselves of this deficiency affixed to us by the bourgoies intelligentsia. But we are fully ensured against that second gift of the bourgeoise -- nationalism. That is why we aree able to establish the separate Jewish character of our movement without running the risk of wandering away from the international workers' movement in general and the Russian movement in particular.

By our activity, we have created a movement which occupies second place in the workers' movement in Rusia. We have to admit that the character of our movement, its very essence, and consequently its successes, are in a large measure dependent on the special circumstances in which the Jewish working class is situated. We should take account of these circumstances which have welded and strengthened our movement.

In this manner, we should establihh the more nationalist character of our movement, as the third result of our movement and as the third theoretical triumph over bourgeois ideas.

My task is completed. I have attempted to demonstrate wherein the qualitative progress of our movement lies. There remains for me only the task of expressing the deep hope, that all these successes in the sphere of our self consciousness, will forever influence benefically the further development of our movement. Our movement has arrived at these successes by dint of a difficult and exhaustive process dear to worthy individuals. Once our movement has internalized these values, it will progress faster and more easily, and will influence benefically by its example, the movement of other nations in Russia and the self consoiousness of Russian and Lituanian workers.

Let the realization that the Jewish working class succeeded in the prison like conditions of Russian political reality, to create and erect with style a solid movement, and that we, the vanguard of that movement succeeded in liberating ourselves from the Russian intelligentsia, sustain us in our struggle.

Imagine an aged strong and huge building. Its walls have become damp and cover~~f~~ed with moss. Imagine that a small group of men have bent their minds to set this building ablaze and ~~xaix~~ raze it to its foundations . But the ancient, dank and damp walls do not easily give in to the flames. Meanwhile, each of the arsonists has little time. He must hurry and work stealthily since the sentries pace around and vigilantly guard the building— and one after another, of the arsonists falls into the hands of the sentries, having had the opportunity to set but one corner on fire. This is the picture which I imagined when I heard of various unsuccessful attempts by different people to bring out the workers' movement in this or that corner of Russia. And now, I imagine that one corner of the building has successfully been set afire and they will never extinguish this fire even if one arsonist or another is caught in the act. Although I know that the huge building will not be totally consumed because of this corner, I hope ~~that~~ nonetheless that everything will soon catch fire. Sparks will shoot off from the fire and willfly to the opposite side of the building. They will certainly fall on those corners where others are laboring at the same task, but have not yet enjoyed success and one timely falling spark will help set another corner on fire.

Let this ~~bne~~ beneficial cleansing flame spread itself more and more in our corner, until the time when it encounters flames emanating from other's corners and having merged with them, it will transform itself into one unbroken and destructive conflagration.

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[1] LaSalle, a German socialist leader of the 19th century of Jewish origin.

[2] Estate. Borrowed from the French Revolution where society was divided into three estates. The first estate comprised of the clergy, the second estate of the nobility and the third estate of the middle class.

Introduction and Comments to:
FOUR SPEECHES OF JEWISH WORKERS

The Bund was the Jewish offshoot of Marxist socialism. The time setting is crucial because Marxism at this time is still not recognized by the czarist Ru government as a major enemy and it is even encouraging Marxism sub rosa in the hope of deflating Russian populist movements. The Bund was and still is anti-Zionist, stressing the class aspect over the national aspect.

At the start of the 20th century, in the wake of the 1903 pogroms, the Bund would become more nationalistic and would fight the Russian social Democratic Party of Lenin over the exclusive right to represent the Jews within the Social Democratic Movement. They were modelling themselves on the proposed structure for the Austiran Social Democratic Party. When Lenin and the other Social Democratic leaders refused to accept the Bund's terms, they seceded from the party.After the Bolshevik Revolution they were either liquidated as an organization or absorbed into the Communist Party which meant the same thing.

The Bund was very active and strong in inter-war Poland, but of course the Holocaust terminated its activity in Poland.,The Bund still maintains an office in New York City and holds conventions in the United States.

Footnotes

1) Rosa Luxembourg was born into a bourgeois Jewish family.Disclaimed any association with the Jewish people. She had serious debates with Lenin over internal party democracy and foresaw the evolution into autocracy of the Russian Commbnist Party. Luxembourg died in the aborted Sparticist uprising in Germany, 1919.

2) Kraemer and Mill were two of the major leaders of the Bund.
and
3)

FOUR SPEECHES OF JEWISH WORKERS
at the 1892 May Day Celebratins in Vilna
Printers: Social Democratic Library

We are translating the four speeches from the illegal Russian brochure published in Geneva in 1893.

The speeches occupy 27 sides and in addition there is a preface of 25 pages which is unsigned. It is known that its author was Leon Yunikes, a publisher of the brochure. Rosa Luxemberg[1] also took part. In the introduction, the significance of the first May Day celebration among Jewish workers was briefly noted. Also touched upon were the theme of persecutions against the Jews on the part of the Russian regime and most importantly the importance of the political struggle against Russian autocracy and the significance of the 1st of May as a general proletarian holiday.

The speeches were delivered in Vilna on the 1st of May 1892 at an assembly in which one hundred of the most class conscious and active workers took part. Only Arkady Kremer[2] and John Mill[3] represented the intelligentsia. The assembly took place in the Zuteran forest outside the city.The first two speeches were delivered by Fannie Levine-Resnieck, a seamstress (her husband, Akiva Resnick was a teacher) who died in Brish in 1896, and Yelena Gelfand-Droskin, also a seamstress (her husband later became a doctor) who now lives in Leningrad. Both speeches were delivered in Russian.

The third address was that of Mottel Maisel, which was delivered in Yiddish. (The Yiddish original was not preserved). The text is re-translated into Yiddish from the Russian translation. Mottel Maisel now lives in Israel. The fou-th speech in Russian was that of Reuven Gershovsky ("Yaakov") a shirt-maker, now a resident of Vilna.

The 1892 May Day celebration in Vilna was the first among Jewish workers in Russia and Poland.

The Editors

The Speech of a Female Worker

My friends. We celebrate today the 1st of May. This day is to us different from regular established holidays. Those are holidays only for the rich who are not concerned whether their less fortunate brethren have holidays. For us this day has another significance. Although this is not a legal holiday, the workers of different lands and different professions cast off their labor on this day and unite themselves in common. In 1890, our workers in Warsaw jo9ned the celebration. The popular nature of the workers' holiday of the First of May teaches us that the majority of workers have understood their interests and have organized to unite themselves in a common effort, ignoring professional and national differences. Regrettably, the workers in our city and in other cities in Russia have not taken part in the festive celebrations which have taken place to date. Let us therefore, friends, see to it that we spend this day as tolerably and as usefully as we possibly can.

Today, we have assembled here as one in order that we can discuss our sad lot and see what can be done in order that the situation can be ameliorated. In no other country is the situation of the worker so unfurtunate as it is in Russia. Our bosses force us to work day and night. They do not consider us human beings, but animals. They persecute us and hinder us at every turn.It is heartbreaking to see how the worker has to beg his boss for wages, how he trembles before him, as if he were asking for alms and had not earned his money with blood and sweat. Do we not have the right to live and enjoy life, like our bosses? Why do we have to put up with this? We want what is coming to us. We support them with our toil.

They live off our blood and sweat. But this is not all, our masters still have to protect themselves from internal and external enemies and so brothers, military service is awaiting you. There they try to drive out from you all which is human, to make you an automaton and compel you to follow all the cock-eyed orders from the commanders. Service takes away the best years, takes away all your strength, your entire energy. Afterwards, tired out and apathetic, you return to your own life and to your home and neighbors. You are discarded and left on your own. But that is just the least of it. It happens, that when your brother workers set forth their reighteous demands, they force you to suppress and even kill your own brothers. It is tragic. Yes, the cup of bitterness overflows. We cannot go on like this. Our silence and submission will get us nowhere. We can get nothing by peaceful methods. We must fight our enemies. Every man must properly evaluate his energies and know that which he cannot achieve. We know full well that we are not able to change everything in one shot. Therefore, we have to for the time being, fight with our nearest enemy whom we encounter day by day, that is, our bosses.

The first condition for success in the struggle is the full solidarity of all workers -- the interest of the single worker has to be the interest of all and the reverse. So we should not be torn apart, so that we may unite, we have to call togehter assemblies (cxogkas) from among the workers. We have to organize treasuries and sett to it that this idea catches on. We have to organize strikes and these funds will be our main source of support during these strikes.

But to organize a strike! The mere word is enough to terrify us. We could lose our jobs for just uttering the word "strike!" I well understand and feel this, my friends. I know what it means for our brother workers to lose a job. A worker cannot save from one day to the next from his earnings. Are there not other workers? ARe there enough who are unemployed and who are starving from hunger, both -they and their families? Why is this so? We suffer with bowed heads, with submission all the blows and persecution of our enemy and for what? The worker is supposed to work twelve hours a day as it is legally established. Instead he works from 15-17 hours. He works almost for two people, and actually the boss, instead of employing 10 people uses only 6 people. What happens to the other four employees? What do we actually benefit from such an arrangement?

My friends! would it not be better if we devoted the energy which we givr to our bloodsuckers, to improve our own condition. It would be better to spend the extrea time which we now spend at work and use it for our spiritual development, to banish the darkness from our surroundings. All workers should finally understand that we have no one upoi whom we can rely, except ourselves. The workers and only the workers can improve the condition of the working class. This is what our brother workers abroad have shown us. All men have been divided into two antagonistic classes, the class of the owner-exploiter and the class of unfortunate workers. The former are our bloodiest enemies but they are inconsequential compared to the masses of poor people. We could overcome them very easily if all the workers will understand their onw interests and will take part in the struggle. We cannot be disheartened at the first unsuccessful step. We must stirve for our goal till the end of our lives. We don't have to feel isolated, for even abroad, we have many friends who are always ready to come to our aid. We can therefore be sure that we will win the struggle because of the power and strength on our side.

Brothers and sisters. Let us unite and with pooled forces, fight with our enemies, for our freedom. Long live the workers. Long live freedom.

ADDRESS OF A WORKER

My friends. We have assembled today to celebrate the 1st of May. In Western Europe, this day has long been observed by workers and is always accompanied by great demonstrations. We must not become depressed at the fact that this movement is not as strong here as it is in Western Europe. With us, it is still a novelty. As soon as the workers' movement got started, it progressed very quickly. This happened in Western Europe and so it will be with us. Let us take our city as an example....

These are our most important assignments: agitation and propaganda among the workers; and we must bend all our efforts to attain our sacred goal -- the full liberation of labor.

My friends. I should like to say a few words about the question of women. First of all, we should never forget that the question of women is not a self-contained problem, but rather part and parcel of the entire social question. Let us see how true this is. We think that the liberation of the woman means that she should be materially independnet of her husband. But is this really enought?

When the production process was less developed, a woman did all the household chores. With the advent of the machine industry, she had less and less work at home, as the factories produced the same commodities as she had done heretofore, but much more cheaply. She was also forced the leave the confines of her home, because with the development of industry, her husband received a smaller wage. Circumstances forced her to labor in the factory in order to maintain the family. As a result she became more self sustaining and independnet of her husband, but she fell under the power of the bloodsucker-capitalist. Thanks to the development of industry, the woman in the family became more self-sustaining and free. Do we aspire to such a sort of freedom? In order to answer this question, let us look at the damage cuased by the new order.

When the husband was the only worker, he was able to support his entire family. With the appearance of large industry, the woman began to compete with the man and as a result the man's wages were lowered and many men were left unemployed. It naturally does not follow that we should strive to abolish employment of women. This would not in any way improve the lot of the worker. This would not increase the earnings of the worker as the capitalist would start using more complicated machines and the lot of the worker would not improve.It is therefore obvious that the lot of the woman as a homemaker and the lot of the woman as a factory worker are definitely not in keeping with our concept of true liberation for women.

Nothwithstanding the fact that the woman has become a factory worker instead of a home-maker, her position in the home and the over-all family structure has not improved. The woman suffers as a factory worker, she is under the yoke of capital even more than her husband. The reason is that in the factory, the woman is assigned easier work and therefore her salary is very low despite the fact that she is no less efficient than the man in work and spiritual development.

From the above, it is clear that the main cause of the enslavement of women is the economic system.-Therefore, we women, cannot separate our problem from the general social problem, but we must join our cause with the cause of all proletarians. We all have one enemy whom we must combat in solidarity. We will only achieve full freedom in socialist society and therefore we must do everything in order to develop as quickly as possible that society.

III

Dear Brothers and Sisters. We are gathered here today to celebrate the world-wide workers' holiday according tot the deicision which was adopted three years ago by worker representatives from all educationally advanced countries. On that day, freedom reigns, it throbs with excitement. Our sisters and brothers, wives and children, young and old crowd the streets, proudly carrying banners, accompanied by their own music, with flags, with happy hearts, consoled for the difficult years that have passed and hopeful of the happier years ahead. The bourgeoise trembles and quakes with fear. They understand that very soon, their eyese, their greedy and covetous eyes, will be closed for good.

This holiday give to the workers new strength for the conflict, lifts their spirits and encourages them in their striving for human progress. They are now reaping the fruits for the seed they have sown for so many years with tears. They employ science which has illuminated the 19th century, to free the depressed masses of wage earners and to become self sufficient men. We are going now on a paved raod, to the good fortune of an entire human society, a road which means the abolition of private property and the division of classes, the elimination of hatred among nations and establishing the reign of freedom, equality and fraternity. They are organized and striving for political rights. This educates humanity, and helps build the character for the coming order. They are advancing steadily...not galloping forward. The experience has cost them rivers of blood and centuries of hard labor.

Now they demand an eight hour day. First of all, in eight hours, less products are produced and the demand for the products of an eight hour day is increased. Therefore, the reserve army of the proletariat which lived almost at the same breaking point as those Jews who were driven out of Moscow and brought down the wage scale for other workers, will also find work. Now the whole world seems like a Roman circus. The bourgeois sit up in their important seats and observe how the gladiators tangle with each other in the arena, until one of them falls at the feet of the other. That's how the reserve army seeks to take the place of the employed workers. With an eight hour day, the sorkers will have more free time and will utilize this for self education and will come to the conclusion that all men are equal; one earth supports them. One sun shines over all. All breathe the same air. Under the laws of hummnity, and in all consciousness there is no place for differentiating between rich and poor. The workers

will organize themselves better. They will create armies and will teach themselves to use culture which will hack to pieces the old world of boundaries, poverty, illness, ignorance and superstition. The blot of monarchy will be erased. There will rise up a world of happiness and love of humanity where everyone will feel himself a member of the human race. The darkness of the old world had hindered men in their self development. Now the old world and its barbarism has been overthrown. Now the old world and its barbarism have been overthrown. Woe to those who say that the working masses must bear all; must suffer all; must torture themselves to maintain a few men in all types of luxury. What we Jews "The Russian citizens" must reject are our own holidays and fantasies which are totally useless to human society. We join the ranks of socialism and become part of their holiday which they have achieved thanks to science and with the help of their own resources, which will exist till the end of time.
The goal of this holiday is to sever the hold of the old world which pumps out the life blood of the poor class and to erect on its ruins a world of universal peace. Our holidays which we have inherited from our forefathers should simultaneously disappear with the old order. We are firmly convinced that neither God nor the devil can free the oppressed masses from the yoke which bows them down to be earth. Only education, and their own energies can lead them out from the darkness to a life of light. Even if in Russia they repress every attempt of the people to liberate itself from its oppression, the regime understands that the existing order must give way and all"parasites " -- those who live off the work of others, will have to forego the pleasure of miling the blood of the working class. It is sweet

to leech-like suck the blood of others when the victim is willing. But when the poor workers or the entire oppressed mass say "no, I wont allow it" then it becomes bitter and bleak for the parasites. Not for naught do they see to it that the people remain a passive tool, not for naught do they rabidly uproot from students in schools all the good and natural qualities and fill their heads with religion, wars and epaulettes and bamboozle the people to bow down to the golden calf, and demoralize human thought. They toy with the entire oppressed masses as with a doll, and should someone attempt to tell the people the truth, they bend every effort to extinguish the spark, and they have one answer to the question of why they behave themselves so cruelly -- when on board a ship, one must obey the captain.

The enlightenment of the 19th century shows us the way! Science guides our ship like an experienced wise and farsighted captain. Science like a loving mother will safely carry us over the sea of tears and pain into the land of life. Lucky is he who does not lose his courage, whose heart does not fail him at the sound of cannon fire or upon seeing the gleam of the enemy's sword, or when the storm threatens to rip the sails of his wretched ship. Such a person stands upright, will freely tell the truth, without fear of prisons and fortresses, of Siberia, stone-digging, loaded guns and even of death itself. For as soon as we have donned the armor of humanity, and the shield of conscience, they can fire off their cannon to their heart's content, they can fire at us with a fussilade of bullets. We will stand fast like a wall, on which their bullets will be smashed, their swords broken, and the angels of destruction will tire of frightening us and enchaining us.

We have found many such examples abroad and to the credit of Russia, not a few victims have fallen there as well. The earth under our feet is soaked with the blood and tears of thousands of brothers and sisters. There was no deterrent -- neither the mountains nor the deep, nor the long road, the hard labor, nor the menacing foe, restrained them from struggle. And they struggled till death and breathed their last breath for the oppressed masses. We have to remind ourselves of such shining stars as Zhelyubov[4] who gave their lives as prey to the enemy while tearing off the mask of the "Czar-father." Their souls hover over us, their spirit will live and work until that time when the new order is entrenched. The man-eaters do not understand that the more they scurry to extinguish the spark, the more it will burst into flame elsewhere. If they have martyred one person, tens of others will appear in his place.

History and progress go forward. This is not an empty fantasy nor a false hope. History teaches us that one system creates its successor. Despite the fact that the great thinkers of the past argued that man could not abolish slavery because slavery was inherent in nature, progress, nevertheless on its own, did away with slavery, contrary to the opinion of these genial people. And with reference to our capitalist system, our teacher Marx, has told us that capitalism was in the embryonic stage during the time of feudalism and now as Marx opines, when the outer shell of the present capitalistic system is discarded, the kernel of socialism will be revealed and will progressively grow. And we see that this is really so. The idea of socialism is being spread over the entire world. In one country it is in full bloom and in another, according to his history, the first shoots of socialism are appearing; there it is full grown and in the fourth it is beginning to take root.

Are the low life bourgeois able to quell with their corporeal eyes the celestial bodies? No! And they dream of killing the spirits, these contemptible heroes, the spirits which they wish to enchain. One ray of light will scatter the murky darkness. Such men as Zhelyubov will till the end be the super-heroes in the annals of Russian history. A history written not with ink but with their heart's blood. The events of March 1, 1881, have awakened tens of thousands from the lethargic slumber. They have proven that the Czar is not God-annointed. His guardian angel did not help him one whit. Even if we tread upon the dead corpses of the victims who fell for the liberation of Russia, even if we pay dearly on a daily basis for these vents, this should not deter us nor frighten us. Let there be no fear in our hearts. Let us be oblivious to dangers, let us not count our enemies. Let us forget our own interests, this is how we should conduct ourselves. All will end well and the names of our inquisitors who block our path will forever be objects of derision and ridicule.If we find ourselves now in a menagerie, among wild animals, and lost in the dark night, we hear the barking of dogs in the distance, and we know that not too far away there is civilization and socialism -- a place where we can live in full happiness.We only have to find the exit and leave this jungle and reach that place where we no longer have to fear the dog on his leash. They would not have barked had they no fear of the stick.

Let us be energetic. Each step forward brings us closer to the goal. Even if most of us are convinced that socialism will definitely come, or that we will definitely come to socialism, nevertheless, it is also definitely necessary that we on our part should be energetic, for we know that socialism will not come through supernatural miracles. The Torah of socialism won't fall from the sky on Mount Sinai with thunder and lightening. The Messiah won't arrive some fine morning, astride a white donkey, to install socialism over the world. Socialism will come gradually and a thousand and one nights will not suffice to describe how socialism will break through and come forth in all its glory from the guts of the present despicable system.

So, to work! The entire educated world goes forward and approaches the coming order. Only our dear Russia is still far away. The work of the intelligentsia on behalf of the socialist idea has not had glittering success since its interests did not have deep roots in reality. But now that the worker has begun to stir, the words of the intelligentsia will not fall on barren soil. We therefore have to prepare the way with our young energies. *First of all, we have to educate all our sisters- and brothers explaining to them that the liberation of each separate worker will come about only when the entire mass is liberated. But in Russia, the first obstacle we face, is that we have no freedom of assembly, no freedom of the press, no freedom of organization. Therefore our first objective is to battle for a constitution.* And since we are constructing a separate class with its separate interests, our representative s should sit in Parliament. This means that we shouldn't be like like dumb animals who follow blindly. Can we rely on the priests of political economy[5] who hope that the existing order which takes from us the entire fruit of our toil, is the best of all orders. Or upon the clerics, who tell us to hope for the world to come at a time when they want to stuff thier fat bellies at our expense? Or maybe on the parasites -- on those who live off the work of others, who pluck at our arteries and suck our blood. From such people should we expect salvation? No! We can't rely on this band of brigands and robbers.

We alone comprise that material from which the holy temple of the future will be erected. From us there will shine forth light for all our sisters and brothers, those who will be born only to die like the worms in underground darkness who never knew the joys of a world of light. Let us kindle the flame and light the way for the oppressed masses who die without having at least experienced life. Let us, with this flame, burn out the eyes of the man-eaters, and let the stench of the fire permeate the earth and console the innocent victims for whom we take vengeance and upon the man-eaters who spilt their blood like water because they fought for freedom, equality and brotherhood. Let us open our eyes and wash out the stain of bondage. Let us fight like heroes for our nation and for humanity in general. Let us raise on high the red banner of the workers upon which there is emblazoned the words which resound over the entire world, the words of our great teacher, Karl Marx of blessed memory. Proletarians of all countries, unite!

IV

My friends. Although I do not doubt for a single minute that the majority of you here assembled already know about thr world-wide workers' holiday, of the first of May, it is still my opinion that it would not be amiss to dwell upon it, perhaps there are among us those for whom the idea of the first of May is totally novel. Therefore, I will discuss the origin of this holiday.

In 1889, at the time of the Paris Exposition, there was convoked an assembly composed of representatives from the workers' parties of all countries, that is to say, of the Social Democrats. There the Social Democrats decided that workers everywhere (that means, Russian Jews are not excluded) should celebrate the first of May. The main objective of this ;workers' holiday was to demand from the capitalists an eight hour day and also to demonstrate to the entire capitalist world what power the working class had achieved. I do not want to enter into a detailed declaration about the colossal achievement it is for workers to have a shortened work day. I trust that everyone of us knows full well how much better it is for the worker to free himself earlier of the choking atmosphere that pervades the factory and from the hard exhausting labor, and to come home early to rest up, read a good book and occupy himself with something useful, rather than work himself to the bone for his master for a pittance, coupled with abuse. It is a well known fact that if the work day is shortened, more workers will be needed to produce a given amount of commodities, in any specific industry. Thanks to the shortened work day, those previously unemployed will receive work. Basically, I want to deal with two questions: first of all, why did they choose the first of May for a workers' holiday and not another day? Secondly, what purpose could be achieved by selecting this specific day for people of all nations,beliefs, territories? What serves as the main incentive that work be stopped on the same day for everyone?

Let me answer the first question. It is my understanding that this day was chosen as a workers' holiday for its poetic effect. The celebration in many respects is symbolized by the beautiful May time. The first of May is considered one of the first days where nature comes alive, all plants and trees which slumbered for a half year in a deep sleep that looked so bleak and sad, are in full dress, thanks to a timely and friendly sunshine, wearing new fantastic clothes, lending promise of juicy fruits in the future. All the herbiage, which were muddy and damp and trampled upon by the passers-by, regarded as useless by all, have come into their own thanks to the rays of the sun and have taken on a festive appearance.

Almost the same thing transpires with the workers. When that social class which bears on its shoulders the scars of years of torture which has for the entire time been a victim of the bourgeoise's chicanery, has given its last drops of energy to enrich them, when that class which had been condemned to starvation and which is submerged in darkness, slavery and demoralization, finally took courage and/all workers as one demanded bread from their oppressors, the latter (the oppressors) settled accounts with them and in the course of an entire week blood flowed in streams. After the bourgeois class had settled its bloody score, it believed that the working class was finished and that it had abandoned all feelings and yearnings for freedom. Suddenly the working class revived, thanks to the torch which was handed to them, and the pulse of life started throbbing stronger and stronger. And when, onthe first of May, the worker starts to straighten out his painfully hunched back, and stands under a universal banner: "Freedom of all the oppressed and the realization of a better future," he demonstrates to the bourgeois world what a great error it has committed in believing that the worker was subdmed and beaten down. No! The worker is not yet dead. He believes and understands that that dya is not far off when the people will gather sufficient strength for class warfare. And, when he feels within himself that power, he will himself settle accounts with his oppressors. He will alone break and smash all the chains which have bound him and still bind him, constrining him in such a despicable condition. Then will those vernal May days arrive for the worker when he will no longer be the slave of capital. Those days which workers await so impatiently.

Our first question is thereby answered. Let us now discuss the second question, that is, the solidarity of interests of all workers. In order to correctly answer this question, we have to bear in mind the development of relations between men and that the various concepts of society are dependent on the dominant form of production. When we turn to that period, when everywhere small scale production was dominant, when woerkers were separated from each other and when the sharp contrast between the worker and the boss did not exist, a worker could easily aspire to be an owner the next day, then understendably the solidarity of interests between workers could not be created. Each worker had to conduct his personal struggle with the owner. As small scale production began to succumb to the manufacturing industries, the distinctions between the owner and the worker became sharper and more delineated. However, full solidarity between workers could not yet exist for some workers felt sufficiently independent due to their special skills. But when machines were introduced into manufacturing industry, that is it became the capitalist system, then the situation of the workers changed totally. With the further development of machine production, more and more small businessmen who could not compete effectively and were forced to give up qtheir independent workshops and to flock together with their former workers under the roof of the factory. There they had a face to face encounter with the heartless machine which transformed human energy into pieces of gold and silver and devoured like an insatiable monster, the flesh and blood of living men without regard to sex or age.

Thanks to competition, this form of production predominates everywhere, even in Russia, and so gardually the workers in all countries were placed in the same situation. The more this industrial form will develop, the sharper the enmity between the interests of workers and owners will become and the more the workers will begin to understand the hopelessness of solitary struggle. Therefore, in order to more easily fight capital, the workers join with one another and form great masses. The knowledge that such solidarity is mandatory has given im petus to the idea of the solidarity of interests among workers.

And also on the economic plane, that great thinker whose name will forever be enshrined in the memory of the weokers, has developed the idea which cast such fear in the entire bourgeois society, that idea against which the bourgeois arm themselves to the teeth, even at the sight of peaceful worker demonstrations and are ready at any timunte to fall upon them with x all the weapons at their disposal. That idea, which stubbornly develops without pay8ing heed to obstacles, incarceration, gallows and other forms of capital punishment, develops to taunt the bourgeoise and still further develop, till there will be a time of equality, fraternity and freedom.

Therefore, as we see, socialism is a direct result of the capitalist form of production. Class struggle pure and simple. Therefore, it is a completely unfounded contention that some people make ;that it is a sin and a transgression for Russian Jewry to take part in this revolutionary class struggle. One could agree with such an opinion if all of Jewry constituted a separate nation which stood apart from capitalist development. Or if Jewry was composed solely of bourgeoise. But is such an opinion ~~opinion~~ correct? Do the suffering bodies of the poor Yiddish proletariat feel the full oppression of capital? ~~Thus~~ Does capital not suck out all the life ~~bool~~ blood from poor Jewish workers as well as from other workers? Does capital make a distinction? Does it sort our human blood? Do Jewish workers not live in the same poverty as other workers? Do the factory owners and masters have mercy on Jews and exploit them less? Every logical thinker, every honest man, of whatever belief, of whatever nationality, will have but one answer for all these questions and he will answer that the Jewish worker and his condition is in no way distinguished from that of his non-Jewish counterpart.

Let the truth be stated...that among the Jews there can be found a paltry number of usurers, manufacturers, bosses and other various exploiters. Therefore, Jews own an inestimable amount of proletarians. The statistical numbers show quite clearly that there is not a single occupation in which they do not take part and this attests to the fact that the Jewish worker is the same slave of capital as any other worker. It can be asked, whether after all, the above cited assertion made by some people can be justified. There is no doubt in our minds that such an opinion is as silly and clumsy as an assertion that it is a sin and a transgression for a person to protect himself from danger and attack. If the Jewish worker stands before the same struggle as all other workers, then who will fight for him if he won't fight for himself?

There remains the following question: Whether the Jewish intelligentsia is deserving of rebuke for enga-ging in illegal activity. Tell me, my friends, what would you do if you saw before you a man tortured by a chronic illness and were in a position to heal him? I am sure that you would not have given it a moment's thought, and would have used every means at your disposal to save him. Therefore if when the moans of the working class are heard ever louder in their call for help, and when the oppression of capital looms ever higher over the workers, and the best and most progressive part of our Jewish intelligentsia, which does not bow down to the golden calf, has heard these moans with its keen ears, and is ready to sacrifice itself for the oppressed, and has lent them a saving hand, then can anyone, after all, blame the working class?

Thus, if our statistics correctly demonstrate, that there is almost no profession in which Jews do not participate, let us try to discern why the Russian regime, like the bourgeoise, call us such uncomplimentary names as "Zhid," "exploiter," "swindler," etc. Why do they hate and persecute Jews in Russia? Is it because, as the religious say, the Jews have left their national framework; because they have intermingled with the Christians, have begun speaking Russian, eating pig and the like? Do they persecute the Jews for such silly reasons? Is there not enough pig to go around? Does the Russian language go to rot if Jews also speak it? Let us look for more plausible explanations, although we must admit that there is a national undertone, since Jews, in the course of their long wandering over almost the entire globe, have assimilated certain unsympathetic traits. But this is not the main reason.

The main cause of Jewish troubles everywhere, as in Russia, rests on economic conditions. This is a fact which is inconrovertably proven by history. In all the kingdoms and at all times, everywhere a Jew came, he was tolerated to the extent that he brought undisputed benefit to the kingdom. But, when he began to disturb the local population, he would stir up a war against him, he would be oppressed, persecuted robbed, exiled and the like. The same occurred in Russia. They tolerated the Jew as long as he helped develop capitalism in Russia. But as soon as the Jews became competition, they began persecuting them as the most dangerous men in the kingdom.

The Russian regime is well aware of the fact that Jews are much more capable than the rest of the population with respect to trade and industry. Therefore, in order to forestall Jewish competition, with the petit-bourgeoise, the Russian regime began to persecute the Jews, drive them out of the large cities, and forced them to become bar tenders, and usurers. It does this by its very laws. Therefore, the Jews exploit the people (narod), the Russian plain folk, too much. But are the Russian Kulaks or bartenders any better? Do they not also suck out the blood of mingled with the Christians, have begun speaking Russian, eating pig and the like? Do they persecute the Jews for such silly reasons? Is there not enough pig to go around? Does the Russian language go to rot if Jews also speak it? Let us look for more plausible explanations, although we must admit that there is a national undertone, since Jews, in the course of their long wandering over almost the entire globe, have assimilated certain unsympathetic traits. But this is not the main reason.

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As a means of salvation from their unfortunate lot, they have found for the JEWS A REFUGE IN "Holy Palestine" where the Jews believe that they have a right to live, because their forefathers are buried ther and have spent their golden age there. It is understandable and it is no surprise that the poor Jewish people permits itself to be conned. Within him there lives the wish to finally free himself from thousands of years of persecution. The people believe that the Messiah will soon come to lead them to Palestine, and that they will lead an upright hyman existence. They have found ready made leaders, the "Palestiners," But, if the poor people look more closely at the terrible life that awaits them there, it would cease to dream about it.

We could sympathize with this movement if perchance a thousand year experience had not demonstrated that there is not a single corner of the world where the Jews did not give a boost to the development of culture and nowhere was their legal right to live as equal citizens recognized. Who can tell if this same history will not repeat itself in Palestine. We could have agreed with the idea of the Palestiners if it would be possible to settle all the Jews in Palestine and establish among them universal equality, fraternity and freedom in the literal sense of the word. Then we could say that there would be no poverty and all would live an equally blissful life. But could the Palestiners accomplish this even if they wanted to. This is the question. Let us turn to the annals of history for an answer.

We see that through the entire history there is a struggle between men for private ownership. The cause of the struggle is economic inequality. It can therefore be asked what equality awaits us in Palestine. If people there buy their position with money like they do here -- then he who is richer in money is richer in land, which is of prime importance there. A man with larger capital can seize more land and a man with small capital or no capital at all, would live in penury and hunger -- perhaps more drastic than in Russia. Yes, my dear sirs, even the Palestiners admit that the same capitalist system will be dominant over there, with the same factories and industrial systems which we have here. Then is this the salvation for the poor Jews?

In order to reach a better understanding, we should clarify the relationships between capital and wage labor. For once capitalist production appears in a land, it must have wage labor which it can exploit. Capital is more profitable when the workers are poor and ignorant, for then the worker will sooner agree to all the conditions of capital. Therefore, on one side, you have poverty and demoralization and on the other, a vast accumulation of capital. It is clear that a Jew coming to Palestine (to his own kingdom -- so he dreams) will meet the same monster which, in order to sustain itself, must devour hundreds of thousands of lives. In Palestine, Jewish daughters will also be prostitutes. Just like here, the Jew will be submerged in darkness. Will there be any distinction between the Jewish situation here and the

Jlewish situation there? It is clear that there will be no distinction whatsoever, save for the fact that in Palestine, his own brother will ride herd over him, a brother of the same faith. In the entire world, they do what they want with Jews, but there one Jew sits on the back of another. Is this not the same burden as the others? If the poor working masses will have the temerity to demand their human rights, do they think that they will not risk the same hangings that awaited them in Russia? Will not the Jewish capitalist take measures to rid himself of the brazen worker just like everywhere else?

If this is the case, if these things are true, then how is Palestine different from any other country. Actually -- in no way! We have before us the example of the local Jewish bourgeoise and the local Jewish masters. Who of us is not aware of how they treat their enslaved men? Will they turn over a new leaf in Palestine, will they become better? That rosy future in Palestine which they describe to the Jews simply does not exist and will not come into being.

It reamins for us to answer one question If it is bitter in Palestine and it is bitter in Russia -- then what is there left for the Jewish people to do? How will he free himself from this unbearable situation? The answer is simple: Among us Jews, there exists the same capitalism that exists in other countries, the same proletariat as elsewhere. Therefore, the struggle between capitalist and prolotariat among the Jews should be the same. We can take Western Europe for an example. There the workers began to unite earlier than they did in Russia and formed workman circles. First they were small, but later with the development of industry in the land and as a result of propaganda conducted among the workers, they grew strong. These small circles developed into organizations which already have their own spokesmen in Parliament.

We have to fight the same way. Since we stand before a struggle with capital, each of us must be clear in his own mind that the sacred task of each conscious worker lies not in excessively stuffing his stomach, but that each must to the limit of his powers, do something for humanity. The more we accomplish in this area, the greater the benefit to future genrations. We cannot sit with folded hands and await the help of others. *Our freedom and salvation depends solely on us.* Everyone should strive to the best of his abilities to educate himself and educate others and thereby it will become possible to establish small circles at first. This will give us the full opportunity to become members of the universal fighting workers' party which will be formed and will, in solidarity, win its human rights. Only then will true equality, freedom and fraternity be achieved for an entire humanity, which also includes Jews.

We have no doubt in the future victory of the workers. History teaches us how insecure is that order, in which men can starve on the threshhold of luxury. We Jews shouldn't be downcast or ashamed of the fact that we belong to the "terrible" Jewish race. Jewish history gives us that right. It too has its golden pages. There has never been a nation like the Jewish nation which so stubbornly martyred itself to sanctify the name of God. Let us, the young generation, take our forefather for an example and display our stubbornness in the struggle to liberate humanity,

11

ZIONISM AND THE BUND

As soon as Herut's Assembly published its first issue, it was immediately assailed and libeled by the Bund in its organ, Der Yiddisher Arbeiter, No. 14. In an article entitled "The Zionist Democratic Faction" that purportedly deals with the first meeting of this "faction" in Basle, the authors of the article depict the two faces of Zionism,that of the older generation and that of the Herut Assembly which in the opinion of the authors are tweedledum and tweedledee. Zionism of the old generation, was characterized by a tendency to dole out honoraria to everyone to fawn and bootlick. Herut is also kow-towing before the golden calf which is its heart's desire. The character delineation of old line Zionism, the authors copied intact from the first issue of Herut, the kindred sister of Chibat Zion, but they did not bother to mention the source of their portrayal. In contrast, we will straighaway reveal to these writers the source upon which they based the assertion that Herut is bowing to the golden calf, they base it purely on their own crass stupidity. The authors know full well that all their assertions are false slanders and they probably laughed inwardly when they deliberately put them into print. They probably counted upon the gullibility of their readers but unfortunately, they carried out this mendacious operation in such a puerile and imbecilic manner. The luminaries of the Bund have not been blessed with the sharpest of wit.

The article intends to condemn the Democratic Zionist Fraction, and it is none of our business to polemicize with the Bund over the business of the fraction. Herut has nothing in common with the democratic fraction, but we wish to dwell upon a few "opinions" that the authors expressed about

Zionism in general. The political thought of the Bundists concerning Zionism can be compared to the souls of wicked people for both undergo constant transmigration and appear always in different reincarnations. We have no notion as to our authors' present stage of reincarnation. In any case, we detect an echo totally different from the treatment that Zionism has received in Bundist literature up to now.

A party which in its critique of another movement, possesses no stable position and no clear dogma, a party which jumps every three months to a new "declaration" to a new "criticism" to new "weapons" betrays symptoms of weak-mindedness, symtoms of groping in the darkness. Hence, what inner strength can justify its criticism of a different movement? The Socialist critique of civil society retains its force as long as Socialism itself retains its determined revolutionary character. Why civil society is reactionary, what it is barbarous and doomed to extinction from an historical standpoint, is all explained by Socialism in accordance with scientific laws drawn from sociology and history. Socialism derives its strength in its critique of civil society, from its inward resources and from its inner truth. But the Bund evokes pity, wherever you s-e it palpitating in its critique of Zionism, like a fish in a puddle, inventing new "laws" minute by minute, casting away its previous weapons which were found unfit and trying its hand with new tools which were just recently devised.

The first "criticism" which the Bund launched against Zionism, was published in the first issues of Der Vekker, where the Bund spouted a crass assertion on the essence of Zionism. The Jewish people is divided between factory owners and workers who confront each other in the class struggle. With the sharpening of the class struggle of the workers and the fear which they cast upon the factory owners, the latter straight away invented Zionism in order to divert the workers from the class struggle. If the Bund itself really and truly believed in its critique, it would have displayed the same orthodoxy to it as a Rabbi at a child redemption ceremony. It would have made no amendments and would have bent all its efforts to publicizing this critique. It could have constituted its best weapons and would have estranged from Zionism every vital force. But the ridiculousness inherent in this critical appraisal is so great that it was found to be unfit for use. And so, a new critique was hastily improvised. In the pamphlet "Zionism ;or Socialism" written by the son of Ehud, published by the Bund, a new "explanation: was given of Zionism. Anti-semitism is economically oppressing the Jewish bourgeoise. The surplus capital lying in the hands of the bourgeoise has no outlet in their indigenous countries, therefdore, they have plotted the idea of Zionism to create for themselves their own country in order to reap suitable profits for their idle capital. It would seem that this "critique" is tack sharp. Since any Bundist "critique" on Zionism is accompanied by appropriate dirges beweailing the Jewish gendarmes, the Jewish ispravkiks, the Jewish governors, the Jewish fabrikants, one could have assumed that the Bund would exploit this critique for its propaganda campaign. But, they straightaway abandoned this "idea", because a mass movement must have an internal truth in addition to an internal logic and it cannot tolerate a blatant lie. The attempt to assassinate Zionism with the explanation that the source of Z ionism lies in the coarse mundance necessities of the bourgeoise, in the plight and in the despair of Jewish capital, is basically a very stupid attempt and people straightaway comprehend its falsity. Therefore, there occurred a transmigration from this criticism to a new one, ostensibly more charitable.

The source of Zionism lies in the fact that the bourgeoise is politically suppressed therefore it wishes to establish a "kingdom" for itself where it will exercise political sovereignty. This is how Tsederbaum in the Yiddishe Arbeiter No. 12 explained Zionism. So we started off with the Zionism of a capitalist class that tossed in its hundreds of millions and commenced to seek profits through colonial policy, now we are dealing with a bourgeoise blessed with a refined civic feeling which cannot tolerate its political weakness, and therefore the notion ~~has~~ arises within ~~in~~ it to establish a country for itself. This is comparable to the case of a Rabbi whom no city will install in the rabbinate, so he proceeded to build a city for himself.

But this "criticism" could not stand up either. They treated it sanctimoniously, but then threw it away like an unfit Hoshana branch. This description of Zionism is even more inane than that explanation which purports that the ~~main~~ pursuit of gain by the Jewish bourgeoise is the cause of Zionism. Nor is this explanation in any way original. It originated with the European reactionaries and their criticism of socialism. From where does socialism stem? The answer is simplicity itself, responded the reactionaries, the Philistines, and the liars, for a long time, and the theme still supplies fodder for their press today. Socialism derives from the fact that Plechanov, Bebel and Jaures are seeking dominion. They want to be kings, presidents and enslavers. This criticism with its barbarity and with its brazen falsehood, arouses only derision and is of course short-lived. Similarly, the critique of Zionism which purported that Zionism draws sustenance from a bourgeoise drive for political domination was also short-lived and even though it could have very usefully served their propaganda activities, the Bund as a party could not accept it. The painstaking efforts of the Bund to depict Zionism as a bourgeoise class movement is easily comprehensible. If Zionism stems from the class interest of the bourgeoise, it follows thatthe proletariat and the Jewish masses have no business in it whatsoever. The proletariat is obligated to be its most staunch antagonist. He must combat it as the most dangerous reactionary movement. But the Bund as a party, was compelled despite itself, to depart from this "explanation' because the mass Jewish nature of the Bund could not tolerate such barbarity, such logical madness and historical mendacity. Therefore, the Bund gave up combatting Zionism from a socialist standpoint, and turned to commonplace bourgoise arguments against Zionism.

It turns out that because of this shift, the Bund has made itself even more an object of derision than when it employed socialist criticism. The Fourth Congress of the Bund came outagainst Zionism on prosaic grounds and adopted the following resolution: "The Conference views Zionism as the reaction of the bourgeoise classes to anti-semitism and the abnormal legal situation of the Jewish people. The final goal of Political Zionism -- the attainment of a land for the Jewish people is viewed by the convention as a matter of little importance since it is impossible to settle save a small portion of the Jewish people in that land and does not put an end to the Jewish problem. Regarding Zionism's plans to settle ~~inxthat~~ all the Jewish people or a large portion of it in that land, the Convention views this as an idle dream and as Utopianism. The Congress believes that Zionist propaganda is inciting the nationalist sentiment within the people and can hinder the development of class consciousness. The Convention regards the cultural activity of a few Zionist groupescules the way it regards all other legal activities. In its discussion on Zionism, the Congress has decided that Zionism should not be given a foothold in the economic and political assemblies. Anyone who compares this decision to whatever the Bund has written previously on Zionism, and to the practical side of this decision itself, will be dismayed and will not be sure whether the footsteps of the Messiah have appeared in our land or maybe the authors of this resolution have lost control of their faculties and they cannot understand simple matte-s. That Zionism is the bourgoise reaction to anti-Semitism and the abnormal situation of the Jewish people is really quite silly. Let us assume that this is the case. What are the consequences that follow? The fact that Zionism is simply the political response of the bourgoise to anti-Semitism, should not render Zionism unfit from a socialist standpoint. Perhaps the bourgeoise resonse to anti-Semitism can be considered progressive or even socialist. Are the bourgeoise movements against absolutism , against the church, against the bread tax unfit, simply because they are movements of the bourgoiese? On the contrary,/in these fields, the Socialists and the bourgoise are in league with each other. While Zionism, according to the Bund's critique was a bourgeoise movement, for purposes of gain or political domination, one could comprehend the Scoialist hatred for it. But if it is no more than a bourgoise reaction to the Jewish situation, then one must terminate illusions that the Bourgeoise devised Zionism for the purposes of material gain. In any way, such an explanation of Zionism contains no criticism whatsoever.

Why, after all, does the Bund oppose Zionism? The Bund responds with the prosaic bourgeoise response which we frequently hear addressed to any noble idea. Zionism is a Utopia, a dream. But even in this old Beth Midrash appraisal, we see a great change within the Bund. Amidst the reactionary trumpeting that Zionism is Utopian, the Bund preferred to take the high road. But it is also likely to frighten the public. Ships will come from foreign countries and will plunder the Jewish nation. The priests of all the other countries will assemble once a Jewish state is established and they will slaughter all the Jews because the Jews killed Jesus of Nazareth. Such and other old wives tales are enshrined in the Bindist literature, in order to prove that Zionism is bereft of any possiblity of fulfillment. Every reactionary idiocy that the bourgoiese spouted about Socialism and on any other aspiration, the Bund copied and used against Zionism. But the decision of the Fourth Congress also adapts a totally different tone in this respect. The transfer of a portion of the Jews to a new country has no major importance (but does it have a minor importance?) and is not fated to solve the Jewish problem. The transfer of the entire Jewish people, as the decision explains, is utopian.

Firstly, the Bund was obligated to dwell upon this topic more in length. Why is it impossible for a large portion of the Jewish people to be settled in Israel, especially when the emigration figures prove that a large portion of the Jewish people wandered inthe last few years to new countries. It is impossible to dismiss this question in two words. Secondly, since when has the Bund felt obligated to look out for all the Jewish people? Zionism is not st~~irring~~riving to establish a Jewish state for all the Jewish people. Zionism understands full well that the grand and petty bourgeoise have little to no need at all of Zionism. They are not going to settle in a new country and neither would those portions of the masses who are slowly breaking

land
into the petty bourgoise because of the emigration, venture to a new kabd, This is because the diaspora constitures Israel for them. But the masses who have remained in their proletarian state or are constrined to be proletarian, will be forced by living conditions to seek a land where they will enjoy political autonomy. It is for these masses and not for the entire Jewish people that the Zionist movement wishes to creat a new society. Only that portion of the Jewish people which will be forced to develop into the productive base of society, constitutes the Jewish people, according to the Zionist conception. The non-productive classes are compelled by the decree of history to fall victim to assimilation and to separate themselves from the Jewish people. Therefore, Zionism is the full solution of the Jewish question, whatever may be the number of Jews who wish to settle in a country of their own. For the solution of the Jewish problem boils down to creating a more lofty form of existence for the Jewish people where the present day contradictions will be absent. Any solution of the question in general boils down to the attainment of a more elevated historical raison d'etre. But it is the Bund's assumption that a solution means bringing a fat tribute to many people.

But let us not make the foolish mistake of thinking that the Bund has changed its attitude towards Zionism with this decision. It has merely revealed all its intellectual impoverishment and lack of talent when it comes to approaching Zionism on a critical level. In reality, it hates Zionism as much as it always has, but it cannot explain the source of its hatred rationally. And even though the Bund's decision on Zionism is almost sympathetic, in practice, it has decided not to accept Zionist workers to the political and economic assemblies. It is a cipher. Have the Zionist workers sinned so much because they think that it is possible to settle in Israel a large portion of the Jewish people? Why has such a simple honest action brought forth such a terrible condemnation? Why should a portion of the Jewish workers be placedunder anathema? Is not the entire controversy between them and the Bund limited to differing numerical estimates as to how many Jews can emigrate. The answer from a Socialist viewpoint is that the Bund cannot overcome Zionism because the latter is a progressive movement. It cannot combat it by brazen lies because it has already made itself an object of ridicule. Now the reactionary assimilatory tendencies of the Bundist intelligentsia are bursting to the surface tendencies which it has inherited from the Jewish bourgeoise. These assimilatory impulses appear in their most transparent and total manner.

Indeed the reactionary Jewish assimilationist felt that the decision was actually more for Zionism than against it and they are crying bloody murder. The sacred goal of assimilationism is in danger. The Jews are embarked upon the road to freedom so they are creating new weapons against the Jewish liberation movement. They are fantasizing so many nightmares bordering on insanity. They are screeching and screaming. The Jews will cause bloodshed. The Jewish capitalists will install the estate system in Israel. The Jewish workers will be enslaved, they will be the chattel of the capitalists just as the European yeomen were slaves to the estate owners, a hundred years ago. The assimilationists view the Bund as Zionist because it does not employ this critical weaponry against the Zionists and they fail to understand why the Bund cannot persist in mouthing with all political seriousness the assimilationist credo. This is because the Bund is a mass

Jewish movement that must possess its own inner truth. The Bund may act inanely, in an unbalanced manner, or with diplomatic tones but it cannot behave insanely or basely. And so, all the criticism of the Bund during the past few years has transmigrated from incarnation to incranation until the cipher of the 7th Congress emerged.

However, let us return to the new detractors of Zionism, to the authors of the article, "The Zionist Democratic Fraction," and let's see in which incarnation they appear in their war against Zinnism. The Jewish bourgeoise, say our authors, is strong from a social standpoint. It is wealthy and retreats before no man. But from a political standpoint it is weak. It is leery of any struggle and seeks to escape any struggle by fleeing beyond the mountains of darkness. The reader here must slap his head in astonishment at the sight of this true wonder, a creature that at the same time retreats before no person while fleeing beyond the mountains of darkness. What comes off here? If it retreats before no one, then it doesn't flee to the mountains of darkness; and if it flees beyond the mountains of darkness, what is the meaning of the phrase that it retreats before no one? Such a wondrous creation that seeks with its one foot to escape to the mountains of darkness and with its other foot doesn't want to retreat — can only be cured by major surgery and so our writers tell us that the bourgoise is split into two parts. Now our reader can relax completely. Now he can fully understand the internal contradictions of such a bourgeoise. Unfortunately, the authors are practicing typical Jewish thievery. They have just bisected the bourgoiese but they straightaway take pity on it and sew it up again. As a bourgeoise, they philosophize, the

Jewish bourgeoise views the source of its existence only in the realm of private property. But from the standpoint of Jewish bourgeoise, they have no national property, no territory, because they belong to a proletarian nation. Therefore the bourgeoise has a ghetto psychology, that is Zionism. But this psychology is not split into two parts at all. On the contrary, it is unified, and solid, and can survive till the coming of the Messiah. So they say specifically: "as long as the bourgeoise will not have the national property, it will not be able to liberate itself from the ghetto psychology that is unique to it." This is how the Bund struggles in every possible manner to preserve the bourgoise character of Zionism. But the bourgeoise is always changing both its features and psychology. At first it appeared as a bourgeoise, in dire economic straits that wished to exploit its surplus capital in a land of its own. Then it became a bourgeoise, that strived for political domination in a land of its own. At the 4th congress it became a perfectly simple and perfectly honorable bourgeoise whose class impulses had vanished and was now bewailing the abnormal situation of the Jewish people. The Bundist legal authorities don't know what to do with such a bourgeoise. It wants to remain and also to flee beyond the mountians of darkness. It is divided into two because it has no property ;and therefore it needs national property. It has no territory and therefore it has a diaspora psychology. It will have a ghetto psycholgy until the days of the Messiah.

But away ;now with this incense of words where one word doesn't cleave to the next. Away with idle chatter, tomfoolery and childish pranks. All these high sounding words are totally baseless, like the contention that the bourgeoise needs national proeprty because its entire existence is based on property in general, and are a simple veil to cloak the childish Philistinism of these authors. Away with these boring vanities. The Bundist theory that Zionism is a class movement of the Jewish bourgeoise is totally bankrupt.

Let's see what really is the policy of the Jewish bourgoise. The Jewish bourgeoise is puissant from a social and economic standpoint. In many countries, it is more powerful than the Christian population and everywhere it feels its strength. It know that in the sphere of competition it can easily overcome the Christian bourgeoise . Therefdore, it is like a leech in the land of its dwelling, a leech that is sucking the marrow of the bones from these countries. Its political strength is growing hand in hand with its economic power. But to rationalize its political power, with its social power, it is assimilating, that is, it is ever increasingly striving to cast off the "Jewish ideology", which is a remnant of the previous socio-economic period and to intermingle on a political and cultural basis with the inhabitants of the land. A land which is conducive to the bourgeoise is its homeland -- it's land of Israel. And, because it is strong economically, it has no intention of fleeing when it is weak politically, but on the contrary, it seeks to assimilate to strengthen its political standing. Because it has property, class property, it has no need to alter its way of life, it has no need of a country of its own, but attempts to free itself from even the memory of an ancient historical land. Money is its nation, its land, its culture, its people, its god. It demands civil rights for its economic dominion and reciprocally, its political civil rights constitute the iron bridge upon which its economic strength rests. Assimilation constitutes the connecting link between economics and politics for the bourgeoise. How has the medieval Shylock, become the king of the stock exchanges? How has the former ghetto usurer become the impudent banker of our time? How has the peddlar become the free trader? How has the Bet Midrash student become a doctor, a lawyer, possessing fully equal rights? — through assimilation!

From a historical vantage point, European assimilation appeared at a time when the Jewish bourgeoise began to flourish economically and politically. The Jews are not a people. They possess no inner feelings of belonging to their ancient historical birthright. They have no Jewish natonal feeling. They belong to the nation where they reside. This was the political program of the bourgeoise. Even Jewish religion which possesses nationalistic foundations, was "corrected" by the bourgeoise in an assimilationist spirit. Jewish histories written by western European rabbis, were made to fit in with assimilation. When there was not even a breath of Zionism, the bourgeoise was busily combatting the assumption that a Jewish nation exists. It is altogether clear that the bourgeoise is not divided into two. It is united; it is of one flesh; it is not beset by contradictions or internally divided. It has one god which is money; and they praise him in one temple — which is assimilation.

The greatest enemy of Zionism today is the bourgeoise. It is both its veritable and internal enemy because Zionism is the antithesis of the bourgeoise's economic and political needs. In hundreds of journals, both general and Jewish, the bourgeoise is attempting to suppress Zionism. Its hireling rabbis are "preaching" against Zionism in the synagoguges. Its hack writers, functionaries and pseudo-activists are combatting Zionism in the ~~synagogues~~.congregations and Jewish institutions. And the wrath of the bourgeoise will swell in proportion with the strengthening and verification of the Zionist Idea and its hatred for it will deepen. The hatred of Zionism which reverberates within the hearts of assimilationist Socialism, constitutes only a cursed legacy from the bourgeoise. Assimilationism is the "diaspora psychology" of the bourgeoise. Assimilate, vanish, hide yourself, so you won't be seen or found. Like a thief in the night, disguise yourself, put on a different skin, these are the roads that the bourgeoise is constrined to adopt by dint of its political exile. Therefore it is a source of evil not only for its people but to all the world because it is not inwardly connected to any culture, to any people, to any land, to any party. Economically it is an exploitative force. In the political life, it is filled with falsity and fear. It is "revolutionary" within the tents of its own society but it is conservative and loyal to the throne when it goes out to the street. It is orthodox in the vain beliefs of the synagogue, but enlightened in the eyes of the gentiles. This is the mamon psychology of the Jewish bourgeoise in the diaspora. Marx has rightly said about the Jews that they are an anti-social and anti-cultural reservoir for the world because he was witnessing the Jewish bourgeoise during its period of assimilation and were it not for Zionism -- assimilation would have become the historical yearning of the entire Jewish people. Matters are totally different with the psychology of the masses. They are mired in both political and economic exile, therefore they are compelled to change their way of life. They are trying to escape from the atmosphere that stifles them. They emigrate to other countries, they join revolutionary causes, they seek liberty. They do not assimilate because their economic condition does not demand this this of them. They are Jews and when they attain a higher level of development, they reach the understanding that emigrating to countries without Jews and even civil equality cannot extricate them from the economic and political diaspora, owing to the national class character inherent in any society in the world. Its ever existent aspiration to enter the nascent bourgeoise by relying upon civil liberties, is beset by obstacles which they cannot surmount and hence this aspiration cannot serve as an ideal. They begin to perceive their historical liberation not in an expanded diaspora, but in their total emergence from diaspora. They are liberated from the diaspora psychology and become Zionists. First the masses belong to Judaism because of their living conditions, now they are for Judaism because of consciousness, because of free will. They see their life's desire fulfilled in a Jewish society, constructed in accordance with their spirit and in accordance with their class aspirations.

Is this possible, the Bundists will interject here, don't we see that the bourgeoise is the chief spokesman for Zionism? Aren't we seeing its pleasant exterior? Don't we hear the mouth of the bourgeoise uttering pleasantries? Can't we smell it from a mile off? Is it not bourgeoise incense which our nostrils are inhaling? The facts are correct! It is the interpretation that is false. Of course, the Zionist bourgeoise is now occupying the coveted Eastern wall of Zionism. But it has not reached this point because of its class interests but because of its patriotic feelings and spiritual interests. The bourgeoise is bestowing its holy grace upon Zionism because presently it ~~is~~ plays the role of cantor and it probably believes that it will leave its imprint upon the movement. The bourgeoise presently head the movement, because it has been given the moral dispensation to do so. Because the movement has not developed to the point where the class psychology of its real carriers can erupt from its political hiding place. Zionism is bourgeoise not because it reflects the class interest of the bourgeoise, but solely because the class interests and class psychology of the masses have not yet been reflected within it. Now, the bourgeoise is the end all of the Zionist movement but from the historical vantage point is is nothing.

But let us now return still again to the Bundist legal authorities. After they had dispatched Zionism with their critical sword, their Jewish heart began to beat and now by incantation, they are trying to ward off the evil eye of the Jewish question. They are serving up before the Jewish people a precious offering -- a feat of invention and parallelism concerning the question of Jewish autonomy, and here is what they say: "This is the principle of the Bund. Any country which is comprised of various nationalities, which intermingle with each other, must become from a national standpoint, a federation of nationalities equal in right and in importance, irrespective of their territorial concentration. From the political standpoint, there should be a central government organ." This is how the Bund solved the nationality problem as well as the Jewish problem. The intent of our legal authorities is to say that every people living in a free country is entitled to natiional rights. The Jews are a nation and therefore they have every title to national autonomy. Hence the Jewish problem is solved, and this is the wily answer of the Bund to the Jewish question. But what is the problem? The Jews themselves don't know what they will do with their national rights. All this national autonomy is a useless bauble to them. On the contrary, they want to get rid of this merchandise upon which the Bund is basing national autonomy. But the Bund replies this doesn't matter. This is how things will turn out. A nation must have national rights. The Jews are a nation and therefore our Jewish brothers you are inexorably fated to have national autonomy. You have been ensnared by parallelism like a rat in a mouse trap.

The Bundist writers really don't understand the meaning of national rights and national autonomy. They have heard some sort of rumor and they don't know what to make of it. They have caught wind of the fact that in Austria they are talking about national autonomy and that the Socialists are adopting a positive stand on national autonomy.

But they have not understood an iota of the political and social significance of these words. One can speak of national autonomy when dealing with a people that has a national culture, and is oppressed in its natinal life by another people. In the national mode of existence of an oppressed people, there are vestiges that remain to this people from the days of political independence. It is scattered among other people or it is concentrated within a single territory — all these determine the type of national autonomy that it should demand for itself. People that are gathered together within their own separate territory can demand their political independence, as with Poland, plus of course cultural freedom and national development in all spheres. But a people interspersed among other nations can demand for themselves only national autonomy within the national culture, and self administration. However, one can infer from this that national cultural liberty and self administration, have no impact save upon those national modes of life that have a political and civil basis. An oppressed people does not have to demand national liberty to protect its way of life in the home, and its national thought and feelings, because civil law does not regulate this. The demand for national lib;erty is pointless unless we are speaking about national cultural forms that are dependent uon the civil and political law. But what are these cultural forms that are dependent upon the law? ONe would be language, as an official language, as the language of the schools, the universities, institutions of self administration, the court, of national administration. If a people demands national autonomy for itself, it follows that its national language which is sacred and dear to it and to which it is vitally attached, within and outside the home, should be the language of the school and universities. It should be possible to donduct political gatherings in it and employ it in both the courts and in the institutions of government. Nor should another nationality be able to impose its language as the national language by force. Pursuantly, legal proceedings should be conddcted in accordance with the national laws of the claimant nation, for these laws are a product of its unique histoyr -and hence these proceedings should not be conducted according to the laws of another people. Additionally, administration should rest in the hands of this people and follow the contours of its modes of life and its national moods. Only in that case where the natural life of a people and its true material and spiritual intrests demand the development of these national foundations, is national autonomy necessary for a people. When one comes to speak of a national autonomy for a people, he must firstly ascertain if that people possesses these very national foundations.

Are these foundations naturally linked to its way of life? Can they be further developed and can they uplift the life of a people? Do the people genuinely desire these national cultural forms? Are they willing to fight for them. Only after the existence of national foundations have been verified, can a revolutionary party come forth and demand national autonomy. But the Bund is not asking questions à la that son in the Haggadah that does not know how to ask questions. It is not posing the question of national autonomy when addressing the conditions of Jewish life. It has heard a rumor that other socialist federations have accepted the program of national autonomy and since the Jews are a people it has decreed in favor of national autonomy for the Jews without troubling to x think about it all that much.

But let us study Jewish life. Does it x possess solid foundtions upon which one can establish national autonomy? Reality responds ot us that these foundations do not exist. The Jews are not a people at all from a political standpoint. They do not maintain any national form of existence in the countries of their diaspoara which they desire to protect politically. They do not have a culture of national scope, that they would wish to fight for. True, in Russia, they converse in the Yiddish jargon and they maintain cheders and Yeshivos, Talmud Torahs, Mishnah study circles, psalm chanting societies and other institutions of this sort in this language. But the Yiddish jargon survives among the Jews only due to cultural impoverishment not out of natural conviction and if the Yiddish jargon retians any sacredness in the synagogue or in the Cheder, this is because of connections it maintains with religion but not becuase of its own intrinsic value to the people. The Jews themselves are now aspiring to free themselves from the cultural impoverishment of the Yiddish jargon. They are flocking after culture, after enlightenment, that is they are trying to rid themselves of the jargon. But here the government is compelling them to be nationalistic because the path to the gymnasia and the Russian schools is blocked to the Russian Jews, yet impedes the establishment of cheders and Talmud Torahs as long as a public school has -not been established. Yiddish is the product of the cultural and political diaspora of the Jewish people.

Where has the Bund for example found people who are aspiring to hang signs in Yiddish on their businesses or on their stores? To name their streets in Yiddish, to write Yiddish addresses on their letters? If the government had wished to grant the Jews such national rights, the Jews would have viewed this as a medieval decree against them, similar to a decree that compelled Jews to affix special signs on their clothing. ON the contrary, in all these details, Jews wished to be men of culture, that is to be similar to the general population. This is not the case with oppressed people who see these small tokens as sacred national values for which they will even fight.

The Yididsh literature that is developing and growing provides no confirmation that Yiddish is the Jewish national language and one of the foundations upon which national autonomy will rest. The Yiddish literature is merely a conduit to the European culture, to redemption from the impoverishment of Yiddish. But it is not a national end in itself. When a Jewish bourgeoise which grew in Russia required enlightenment and European culture, it created the Hebrew language and the "books of the Enlightenment." because it had no other language save Hebrew through which it could absorb

European ideas. At its inckeption, Hebrew literature was merely a tool in the hands of the bourgeoise to strengthen its class standing and then to assimilate. But because the sacredness of the language hovers over Hebrew and because the language itself is powerful, beautiful and interwoven with the history of the Jewish people, with its feelings and aspirations, it was transformed partially during its development from a means to a national end. Other nuances began to resound within it in addition to the assimilatory nuances. But save for the Zionist Movement, it would have disappeared just as Hebrew literature disappeared in Germany with the intensification of the assimilatory trend. But after the Jewish situation changed, and yearnings to be an independent nation from an economic and political standpoint awakened within the Jewish people in the form of Zionism, the face of Hebrew literature began to change as well. From a tool of the Enlightenment, it became a servant of national ends. Its purpose was no longer to transmit European culture to Jewish life for the purpose of assimilation, but to clarify the Jewish situation, to reveal the creative powers and original ability latent within the Jewish people and to lay bare the internal values of the Jewish people. It was a poor movement, a sluggish movement, a naive movement and from a certain standpoint also bourgeoise, reactionary and rabbinical because all the phases of Zionism itself were reflected within it. There was Chibat Zion with its colonies, the "approvals" of the rabbis and Tzadikim, the nationalism of the common man and of the sophisticate. But still after all this it has a chance to develop because its purpose is to serve a national and historic goal. Since it is now a symbol of Zionism, it will concomitantly with the development of Zionism and the awakening of the masses for the Zionist liberation struggle, be both enriched advanced and intermeshed with the necessities of life.

Totally different is the case of Yiddish literature. It serves the proletariat as a means for culture and solely a means. It is a language unable to evoke love and enthusiasm for itself. It is the language of the diapsora, the language of exile despised byall classes. There is no forces wthin Jewish life that will make Yiddish into a national literature. It serves the proletariat as a means of culture and solely a means. On the contrary, the value of Yiddish literature will decline as culture and liberty will penetrate into Jewish life. The masses are utilizing Yiddish literature in order to m be redemmed from Yiddish and this trend is continuing unabated.

And what is the fate of the second foundation for national forms of life that national autonomy is to rest on -- that is the fate of law? True, the Jews have a Jewish court and Jewish laws and at one time fulfilled an important role in their life. At a time when the law of the gendarmes held sway in Russia. the Jews and frequently Christians as well did not wish to have recourse to civil law. Wether the Jewish court at that time was more equitable than the Russian Sud is debatable because it would pass judgement in accordance with the ancient laws of the Talmud with all the stratagems and pilpuls of the gemorah. This court possessed no tie with real life and its demands. And as soon as reforms were instituted within Russian law, respect for the Jewish court declined because it had no civil authority and found itself in contradiction with all the new economic forms of life and their complications. Can one still speak of ordering life in accordance with ancient Jewish law. Or maybe a Sanhedrin of Bundists should sit in session and ~~thyx-~~ they will write for us a new commentary"in the spirit of the times " for the Choshen Mishpat. All this not because the conditions of life actually require it, but because the Bund has heard a rumor that socialist federations in the world have included national autonomy in their program.

The third basis for national autonomy is national self-administration. National self administration means administration in accordance with the laws of the people which exist in their daily life and an administration that is entrusted to the nation itself. What are the unique administrative laws that the Jews can demand for themselves? Aside from the obsolete Kahal structure and its methods, Jews possess no self administration and should a miracle transpire and the Jews would obtain the right for self adminstration, they would not know where to start. That administration should be entrusted to the Jew, that there should be a Jewish police, Jewish excise collectors, Jewish Isprovnik, Jewish bougernators, is no small matter and would bestow great honor upon all the J-wish people. But perhaps it is not worth erecting barricades for this purpose.

Now here we have seen how puerile and how inane is this demand of the Bund for national autonomy, especially when the Bund still maintains that the solution of the Jewish problem lies in equal civil rights which will definitely extirpate any remnant ~~af~~ or vestige of diaspora nationalism forthwith. The Bund would not have reached this reactionary idiocy, if it was capable of adequately pondering what is the meaning of national autonomy and what content it would be possible to give it in Jewish life. But it has simply copied the decision of Austrian Social Democratic Congress in Byrno, and has transposed it to the Jewish context without understanding that the Austrian program befits the Jew as a streimel befits a Greek, without ;understanding one can ask for national autonomy only when reality demands it as well.

But the authors of the article before us who fail to comprehend the content of national autonomy, maintain their impudent stance and announce that anyone who denies the possibility of a similar national autonomy for the Jews can be convinced of his mistake because in Austria, for example, where diffeent nationalities reside, and in many locales they are inermixed . Federalist aspirations are clearly emerging within Austrian Socialist Democracy. It is customary that when an ignoramus brings an example to support his contention, it turns out that the example proves exactly the opposite, and this fate has befallen our authors. You have no more convincing proof as to how puerile and inane the national program of the Bund is than the Austrian example. He who wishes to draw a comparison from Austria regarding Russian Jews should not take the Poles or the Czechs or the Ruthenians of Austria as an exmple, but ~~h~~ the Jews within it. Otherwise the example is no example. The economic and social ;situation of the Galician Jews is very similar to the Jews of Russia. They also speak Yiddish ;and are blessed with that diaspora nationalism of the Russian Jew s.

A powerful national movement has stirred everywhere in Austria, a constitutional country with constitutional liberties. If national autonomy for the Jews springs from the necessities of reality, it would have been only right to expect that a similar national movement would have arisen long tixmsx ago among the Jews of Austria. But no enlightened Jew in Austria even dreams of such a national autonomy be cause there are no political and cultural foundations for it to rest upon. Not only Austria attests to the vanity of national rights for the Jews but so do all the other countries where Eastern European Jews have landed and where they speak Yiddish. England, American, Transvaal. In all these countries wehre it would havae been so easy to assert demands for national rights, the Jews are seeking to rid themselves as early as possible from diapsora nationalism and to take up the culture of the indigenous inhabitants. And ;this is only a tribute to the Jewish spirit and aspiration of the Jewish proletariat for enlightenment and spiritual liberty. National autonomy cowers in the synagogues, Yeshivot and cheders and among Tzadikim, Rabbis cantors, matchmakers and other religious functionaries.

This is not the case with Zionism which is the foundation upon which one can build a Jewish national culture. Within an independent Jewish society, where the masses will be free and self-sustaining from an economic standpoint, the Hebrew language, already the language of Zionism, will develop and become the language of the people. Jewish creative genious will be rejuvenated in its own language. The holy language of the study house will be sanctified by its becoming the language of secular life. When new modes of life develop, based on national, social, cooperative labor and collectivism then a new law will develop — a people's law which will reflect the indpendent forms of life. A Jewish culture is possible in a Jewish land amid equality and economic and political independence. Aamidst national liberty, national creativity is possible, for the face of culture is the face of life.

Thus we have already seen what is the significance of national autonomy to the Jews in the diaspora — mere vanity, child's play, reactionary idiocy that no one ~~h~~ really believes in — a word that is bereft of vision, empty of content and lifeless. What therefore will be the answer of the Bund to the Jewish question, that is the question of the historical development of the Jewish masses towards creative labor, towards socialism, culture, libdrty and independent national creativity. The Bund is incapable of answering this because it is opposed to Zionism -- the historical redemption of the Jews and because it hates Zionism it is forced unconsciously to respond to the Jewish question sooner or later with the hackneyed answer of the reactionary bourgeoise. This is the passage of the masses to the camp of the grand and petty bourgeoise and the creation of an ideology to further this transition, namely assimilation. The masses will be scattered and dispersed not only in Europe and ~~Am~~ America but also over the entire face of Russia, of Siberia. Central Asia, Mongolia and Russian China. There it will be possible for it to escape its proletarian status and to enter the bourgeoise paradise; become a conservative Russian patriot and an anti-social anti-cultural force inthe world, as was the case with Western European Jewry. Long live the diappora!

Herut, Social Zionism, wishes to conduct the masses through the struggle against the bourgeoise to its historic liberation, towards a new society, suited to its class aspiration, towards Jewish socialism.